

# EASTERN WORLD

S.E.ASIA • FAR EAST • PACIFIC



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## Contents include :

### CAMBODIAN PROSPECTS

DAVID INGBER

### THE AWAKENING OF JAPAN FIFTY YEARS AGO

CHUSHICHI TSUZUKI

### THE PATTERN OF INDONESIAN CULTURE

RADEN MOERDOWO

### THE WORLD BANK'S WORK IN ASIA

JOSEPH RUCINSKI

### THE PRINCIPLES AND OUTLINES OF INDIA'S SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

K. P. GHOSH

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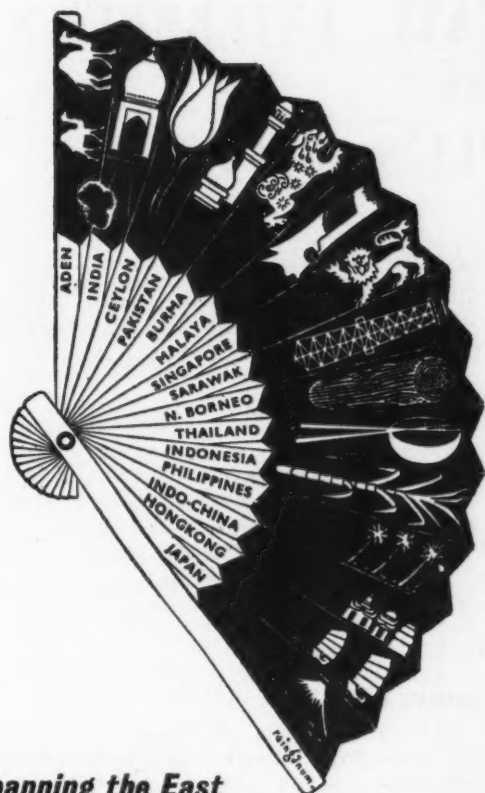
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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	11
Cartoon	Abraham 12
Points of Tension	J. W. T. Cooper 13
U.S. Foreign Policy Criticised	David C. Williams 14
Cambodian Prospects	David Ingber 15
Issues in Australian Election	Charles Meeking 17
The Swabasha Movement in Ceylon	Edgar Fernando 18
The Awakening of Japan Fifty Years Ago	Chushichi Tsuzuki 19
LONDON NOTEBOOK	21
FROM ALL QUARTERS	22
BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST	26
Eastern Art in Zurich	Johannes Itten 31
The Pattern of Indonesian Culture	Raden Moerdowo 32
Japan in the Literature of England	Thomas E. Ennis 35
The Fable Goes Round	Raja Rao 37
The Vacuum Cleaner	Florence Hayes Turner 38
ECONOMIC SECTION	
The World Bank's Work in Asia	Joseph Rucinski 41
The Principles and Outlines of India's Second Five-Year Plan	K. P. Ghosh 44
TRADE, FINANCE AND INDUSTRIAL NOTES	49

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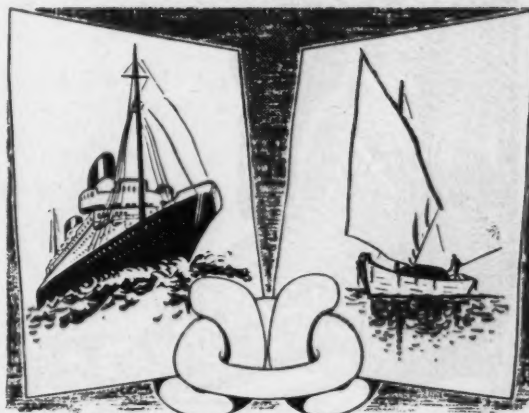
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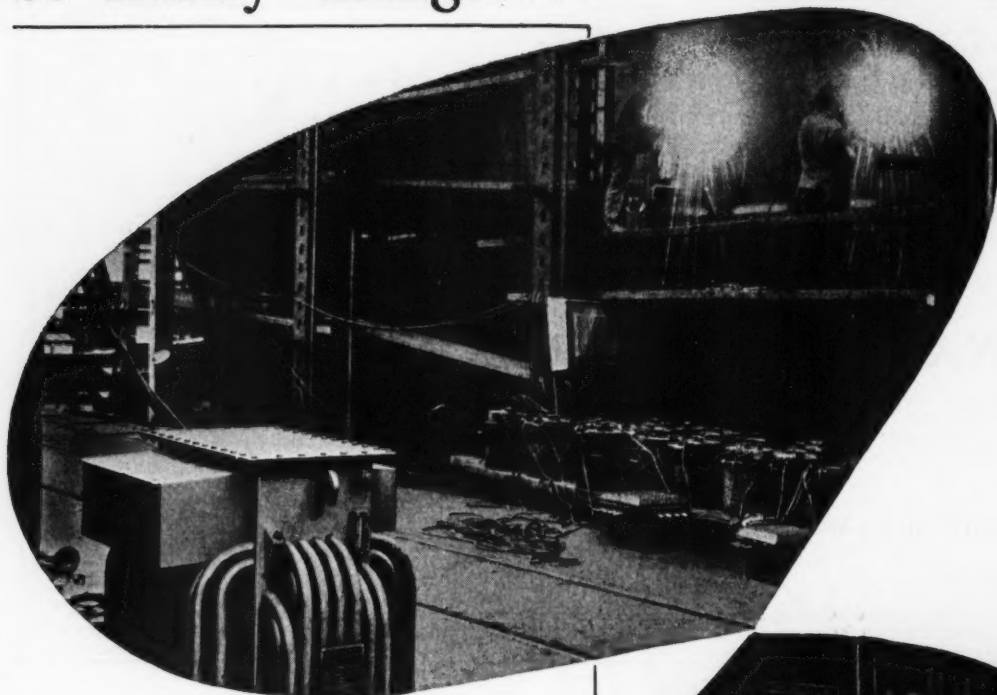
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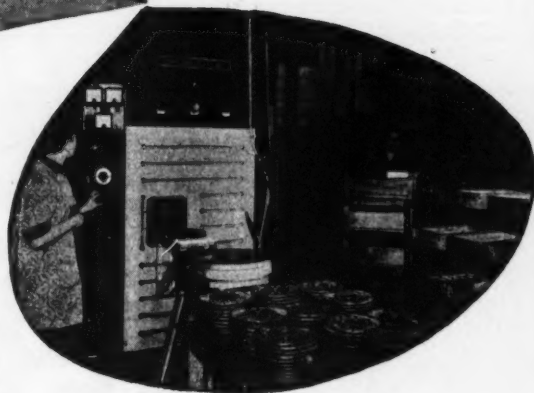
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P.50A

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# EASTERN WORLD

London December 1955

## Decisive Stage in China

**T**HE second and decisive stage of the revolution in China has been reached with the decision to undertake the collectivisation of farming. The land reform which followed Communist control created something like 110 million small farms worked by over 500 million peasants. It is Peking's professed intention to incorporate all those farms into about four million collectives in the next five to six years.

The enormity of the task is almost beyond the power of comprehension, for it is no exaggeration to say that no national plan or project on such a Gargantuan scale has ever been undertaken by any country before. The future stability of the regime will depend upon the way in which it is handled and upon its success or failure. There have been indications that certain sections within the Chinese Communist Party were opposed to the pace at which the countryside was to be collectivised, but when Mao Tse-tung outlined the scheme in a speech to party secretaries in July, he heaped scathing criticism on the heads of those who called for caution.

It was never expected that the distribution of the landlord's acres among the peasants was a final solution to China's agrarian problems. With the pressure of an expanding population and the drive towards industrialisation something had to be done to increase agricultural output so that a fair distribution of foodstuffs was possible among the urban as well as the agricultural workers. The present area of land under cultivation, and the method of working it, produces a totally insufficient yield for China's future needs.

Between those of his colleagues in the Communist Party who want to undertake collectivisation slowly and those who want extra haste, Mao has to bear in mind the near disastrous Russian experiment in the 1930s. China's revolution succeeded because Mao Tse-tung was able to adapt the tenets of Communism to the needs of the peasants; if the peasants come to believe that collectivisation means a loss of something so readily given them, the Government may find the opposition in the countryside difficult to handle. That Peking is aware that such a possibility exists is evident from Mao's speech in which he made no excessive threats to "liquidate" the richer peasants, and throughout the accent has been on the voluntary nature of peasant participation in collectivisation. How far persuasion can succeed when such a short period of time is allotted for completing the change-over, remains to be seen.

Not least of the difficulties China will face during the merging period will be to have on hand enough agricultural machinery to work the large co-operative farms, for failure seems certain unless mechanisation can replace individual farming methods immediately collectives are formed. Only a small portion of China's needs in farming machinery could be supplied by Russia and the Eastern European states, which means that Peking will be looking to the West and Japan.

The period ahead is a very tricky one for China because if she achieves collectivisation through suppression and bloodshed, purges and liquidations, she will forfeit the goodwill she has built up among the independent countries of the East, and have given proof to the general Western contention that the Peking regime is ruthless, and China is a slave state. If it is done smoothly, with peasant support, then China's reputation among her Asian neighbours will be considerably heightened.

## Party Mergers in Japan

**P**ARTY politics in Japan have recently gone through a series of somersaults which has resulted in a two party system—something that a few months ago seemed very remote. The merger of the Liberal and Democratic parties—the conservatives of Japan—into one, followed closely on the coalition of the left and right wing Socialist groups.

The left wing Socialists, although the stronger, have had to modify their demand for complete independence from the United States as the price for merging with the right, but the new Socialist Party declares that Japan should achieve a settlement with the big power blocs and draw closer to the uncommitted Asian countries. Although there are differences of view within the leadership of the Socialist Party these are, at the moment, not so deep as those behind the scenes in the Liberal-Democratic Party. Here factions centre round personalities rather than policies, although Mr. Shigemitsu's handling of foreign affairs has come in for some sharp criticism from his own party.

The position of Mr. Hatoyama, the Prime Minister, is likely to be weakened by the merger of the two conservative groups, especially if the future leader is chosen by those holding top positions in the party, for there are many Liberals who share Mr. Yoshida's opposition to the Democratic Prime Minister. Mr. Yoshida is still a power to be reckoned with, and his critical attitude towards the merger as long as Mr. Hatoyama is Prime Minister may well indicate a return to bitter factionalism. The Socialists will be watching for an opportunity to bring the Government down by playing on intra-party intrigues, because they feel certain that victory would be theirs in an election.

The two mergers will make political issues in Japan more clear cut, for the Government party will have now added weight to the expressed desire for rearmament, and will not be so likely to succumb to pressure for opening relations with mainland China. The Socialists, on the other hand, will oppose all-out rearmament with greater unity, while agreeing to some limited form of defence force, and may easily collect some support from the business community by advocating trade with Peking.

## Pakhtunistan

**T**HE merging of the states and provinces of West Pakistan into one unit has not lessened the Afghan pressure for the creation of Pakhtunistan—a separate Pathan state which would include large areas of north-west Pakistan. Pakistan continues to deny the validity of Kabul's argument and to brush it off as a "stunt" and an unforgivable interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. The Karachi Government is quite convinced that the Pathan tribes on the Pakistan side of the frontier are content with the present rule, while Kabul is equally convinced that they are not, and that as a separate race they want to be free from Karachi's administration.

Without going into the merits and demerits of each country's claims, one factor should be squarely faced: the situation is reaching a stage where it may become explosive. It is important to recognise that this issue could become a threat to peace with countries other than the two protagonists becoming involved. With Pakistan in receipt of American military aid, and the possibility that Afghanistan will accept arms from Czechoslovakia or Russia, events are taking a turn that cannot be ignored.

Nothing will be achieved by persistent argument between Karachi and Kabul. That a problem exists is a fact, and it will not be solved either by one side inflating it, or by the other playing it down. If Afghanistan and Pakistan are both convinced they are right, then they should support the setting up of an impartial commission, either under the auspices of the United Nations or the Afro-Asian countries, to investigate the situation in the Pathan areas which straddle the frontier between them. It would be

fallacious for either side to argue that such a commission would be intruding on their internal affairs, for if the present dispute took a violent turn and the tribal areas became the scene of fighting and confusion, it would be impossible for either country to oppose the entry of a commission whose task it would be to try and straighten the situation out. It is better and sensible, in the interests of stability throughout this vital area, to have an investigating body study the smouldering embers rather than the charred remains.

## USSR an Asian Power?

**T**HE suggestion U Nu made during his recent trip to Russia that the Soviet Union should be represented at the Afro-Asian gatherings was really nothing more than an expression of goodwill and a recognition that a country with large tracts of land in geographical Asia would naturally be intimately concerned with developments in the area.

It is quite clear that the Burmese Prime Minister never envisaged the Soviet Union as a member nation among the Afro-Asian countries, for of course he realised that resentment to such a move would not be confined to the West. Many Asian Governments (and not only those who have ties with the West) would be opposed to it. During his tour of Russia U Nu was surprised to find a general "Asian atmosphere" about the country. Glancing back into history, this is not surprising; but the Burmese Prime Minister himself has since declared that Asian countries look upon the Soviet Union as essentially a European power.

Taking into account the part the Burmese have so far played in Asian affairs, it is not unreasonable to assume that U Nu's remark was prompted by a realisation that if





existing tensions are to be effectively eased in Asia, the Soviet Union must be included. Afghanistan, Pakistan, China and Japan are, after all, contiguous with Russia. If at some future time the nations of the Western and Eastern hemispheres are to tackle the problems of the Far East, there will be certain pressures for excluding the Soviet Union. The value of U Nu's remark is that he has brought up for serious consideration whether or not it is possible to achieve a final peaceful settlement in Asia if the views of Moscow are ignored.

### Colombo Plan's Four Years

ONE thing that the recently published fourth annual report of the Colombo Plan brings out clearly is that although considerable progress has been made by the participating countries and "some of the earlier plans are now bearing fruit," a great deal has still to be achieved. The way ahead will be even harder than it has been hitherto. The need for capital is one of the biggest problems facing the Plan countries, and even closer co-operation between them is necessary if they are to surmount economic problems which are common to all of them.

Co-ordination is not rendered simple by the fact that each country of the area is at a different stage of development. Some are well advanced with economic development plans while others are at a very elementary stage of deciding which projects are the most important, and which stage of reconstruction must be tackled first. But it is heartening to read in the report that several countries of South-East

Asia have reached or surpassed their targets of production, some to the extent of being able to meet the needs in staple foods of their present population at current consumption levels. Even so, much remains to be done because the standard of nutrition is still alarmingly low—lower, in some cases, than before the war.

The measure of success of the Colombo Plan, as it enters its fifth year is the decision of the Ministerial Meeting in Singapore in October to extend the duration of the Plan beyond July 1957 to June 30, 1961. This extension has largely been made possible by the help and co-operation of those countries from outside Asia who participate in the Plan. In the field of technical assistance, the contribution of Great Britain, Canada and Australia have proved of great value. The Earl of Home, British Minister for Commonwealth Relations, emphasised, during his recent visit to India, the depth of interest Great Britain shows in the development of Asian countries.

The raising of living standards in Asia is a matter which is of world wide interest and importance, and the governments of the South-East Asian countries are determined to work towards this end through their development plans even if it may lead to temporary inflation.

Private western industrial enterprise can help a great deal in the area. Much is already being done (although British firms have not shown up very well in the face of East European dynamic salesmanship) not only on the lines of conventional export methods, but by co-operating financially, or by supplying know-how to those Asian countries most in need of it.

## POINTS OF TENSION

By J. W. T. Cooper (EASTERN WORLD Diplomatic Correspondent)

THE Foreign Ministers meeting in Geneva and events in the Middle East have tended to overshadow the ever looming issue of the relationship between China and the United States. Out of the glare of publicity, however, Washington, and particularly Peking have not been allowing matters to rest. The question of Formosa is still in the forefront of Chinese minds, as is the whole basis of "causes of tension" in the Far East.

The talks in Geneva between Mr. Johnson, US Ambassador in Czechoslovakia, and Mr. Wang, Chinese Ambassador to Poland, have been reduced to little more than occasional formal meetings. This is not surprising since their main task was to reach an agreement on the preliminary point of American nationals in China. China has gone quite a long way towards meeting American wishes on this point. Peking now desires to carry the exchanges further towards something concrete, and in this connection has already thrown out the suggestion to the United States that both countries should jointly declare that force should not be used as an instrument of policy. One would have thought that this was the kind of gesture that Washington has long desired, but the State Department has so far countered the suggestion by adopting the line that such a declaration from China would have no substance

as long as Peking was determined to "liberate" Formosa (Taiwan).

Informed observers have been pointing out for some time that American support for Chiang Kai-shek is becoming an embarrassment to the United States, and the absence of any recently declared policy from Washington on America's position in the Taiwan area indicates that officials are finding it difficult to retreat from their commitments gracefully. There have been further indications, on the other hand, that Peking has begun to work towards the objective of incorporating Taiwan into the People's Republic as an autonomous region. The extent of contact between Peking and certain elements on Taiwan is not known, but it is fair to speculate that there has been contact.

The next move seems now to be up to the United States. The Chinese have so far been the only ones to have done anything or produced any ideas. This is obviously because the US is engaging in a rearguard action. No one wishes to see a flare up once again in the Far East, and some serious discussion between China and the United States is becoming urgently necessary if this is to be avoided. The ambassadorial contacts in Geneva have reached something near deadlock, and all subsequent and more important matters will have to be taken up at a higher level,

Peking is prepared for a meeting between Chou En-lai and Mr. Dulles, but the US Administration no doubt feels that in a Presidential election year it would entail a certain loss of prestige for the Secretary of State to sit down with the Chinese Prime Minister. And yet this surely must be done, for there are other questions apart from Taiwan which have to be cleared up, such as the exclusion of Communist China from her place in the United Nations, and the American-inspired trade embargo.

It is becoming obvious to almost everyone, and especially the uncommitted nations of Asia, that morally it is going to be difficult for America to sustain this campaign against China for very much longer.

What then is the answer? China, for all her antagonism towards the United States, is determined to follow a peaceful line over Taiwan—unless provoked. She hopes to circumvent America's support of Chiang by under-the-counter

(continued on p. 16)

## ASIA IN WASHINGTON

# U.S. FOREIGN POLICY CRITICISED

By David C. Williams (Washington)

**C**CHESTER BOWLES, former Ambassador to India and perhaps the most tireless friend and exponent of Asia among American public figures, has made a weighty contribution to the post-Geneva reassessment of American foreign policy with his recently published book, *The New Dimensions of Peace*.

"I believe," he writes, "that we may be facing an unparalleled change in world relationships. By fits and starts the Soviet leaders have recently seemed to be seeking the deliberate depolarization of the world, by halting, if not reversing, the policies of Stalinist aggression which brought on the Cold War. It is almost as if the men under Stalin had been waiting for the moment to correct what for them seemed the near fatal errors of the old man."

"The new Russian strategy may turn out to be more revolutionary and more dangerous than anything Stalin ever envisioned. American policies which seemed narrow and inadequate a year ago are now far more seriously outdated."

"If the dangers of a shooting war diminish, the focus will no longer be concentrated on the Kremlin and on containing Communism, but on the affirmative and staggering task of achieving productive and meaningful freedom in the rest of the world. We must understand the problems which will rise to the surface everywhere—the revolutionary forces at work in the world. In short, we must understand the new dimensions of peace."

Like many Americans of goodwill, Bowles is distressed that so much of the world seems to think that the American revolution is a thing of the past, and has nothing more to offer mankind. He quotes almost wistfully Prince Metternich's cry of alarm some hundred years ago:

"In fostering revolutions wherever they show themselves, in regretting those which have failed, in extending a helping hand to those which seem to prosper (the Americans) lend new strength to the apostles of sedition and reanimate the courage of every conspirator."

Seeking to define for himself and his fellow-countrymen the nature of present-day revolutionary forces, he gives thoughtful if perhaps over-popularised summaries of the Russian, Chinese, and Indian revolutions, and of the nationalist strivings in Africa and Asia. Noting that they

have four objectives in common, "demand for independence, insistence on human dignity without regard to race, creed, or colour, rapid economic progress for benefit of the many as well as for the few, and peaceful conditions under which to live," he roundly declares:

"These are the very concepts on which America was built. If the day ever comes when they sound strange or radical to the average American, it will be a sad day for human freedom."

He criticises again, as he has often before, the growing emphasis upon the military aspects of American foreign policy, as compared with the political and the economic. (This disproportion seems even greater than it actually is, for much of what is actually overseas economic aid has been dressed up as "defence support" or military aid in order to gain the approval of a reluctant Congress.)

"In planning our aid," he writes, "we should make a clear distinction between our opportunities in such places as Vietnam and South Korea, which have been operating under the guns of direct Communist military pressure, and the broader policy opportunities which are open to us in such countries as India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia, and certain parts of Africa."

"In the first case, we are shoring up countries which, without our help, would probably go under immediately. . . . Such holding operations, unfortunately, have accounted for the great bulk of our foreign aid budget. Essential though they are, they only enable us to avoid slipping backward. In order to advance, we must face up to the broader, more positive opportunities to help build more permanent areas of strength."

"Our major peacetime economic investments should go to help those key countries which have the capacity to develop their own resources, their own free governments, their own sense of progress, their own sense of participation, their own sense of belonging to a free world community . . . (even if), as such nations gain confidence, they may often disagree with us."

In concluding, Bowles expresses the hope that "our own American Revolution in all its dynamic implications (will) come to life again . . . Then the danger of nuclear destruction may subside, and a stalemate achieved by terror slowly may merge into peace."

# CAMBODIAN PROSPECTS

By David Ingber

ON September 11, the first General Election was held in Cambodia since the country became a fully sovereign and independent state. Of the three parties contesting it the "Popular Socialist Community" of Prince Norodom Sihanouk swept the polls winning all 91 seats in the National Assembly. In a nation-wide broadcast Prince Sihanouk did no more than justice to this "landslide" by stating: "I apologise for our too complete victory!"

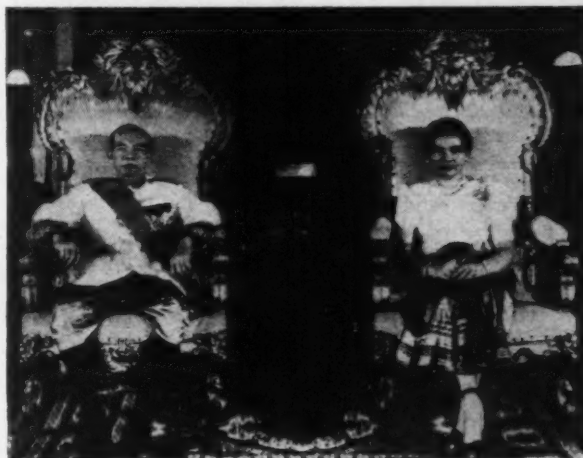
Cambodia's venture into political democracy will be watched with considerable interest by her neighbours and all students of South-East Asian affairs. Independence came to this little-known country of 65,000 square miles and four million people in the form of a Bloodless Revolution. Modern Cambodia is the heir of the ancient Khmer Empire which extended as far as the Malay peninsula. Vestiges of this Golden Age still exist in some imposing architecture of which the temple of Angkor-Wat is the most striking illustration. Temples and monuments cover the period 800 B.C.-1400; the heyday of Khmer rule. They stand as permanent reminders of a Hindu civilisation that flourished in this remote corner of the globe at a time when Europe was still in her infancy and America an undreamt-of continent.

Though sandwiched between Viet-Nam, Siam and Laos, the Cambodians are in a category apart. Racially, socially and otherwise they are different and easily distinguishable from their neighbours. Their language is closely akin to the Mon speech of Burma and the Munda tongue of India. The state religion is Buddhism of the "Hinayana," or "Lesser Vehicle" form with its emphasis on toleration and self-discipline. Religion remains the strongest influence in Cambodian life and is supplemented by spirit worship. Up to a decade or so ago it was customary for most young men to spend at least a year or two in a Buddhist monastery. With the advent of modern progress this tradition like many others is fast becoming a thing of the past.

Cambodia is primarily an agricultural country where the village is the basic unit of the national economy. The only large towns are Pnomh-Penh, the capital, Battambang and Kampot. There are no heavy industries and little or nothing has been done so far to undertake the exploitation of Cambodia's untapped mineral resources. More than 97 per cent. of the population are engaged in agriculture, rice being the staple diet and the principal commodity for export. The annual output is approximately 1,300,000 tons of which some 300,000 are earmarked for export. There are no large estates either, which accounts for Cambodia having been spared the irksome problem of agrarian reform which has proved such a nightmare to other Asian countries. Fishing is another important source of food and revenue

the annual catch aggregating over 150,000 tons. The Cambodians are the traditional "fishmongers" of Asia, whose "platou," i.e. dried fish, is a popular delicacy in places as far apart as Japan, Indonesia and Singapore. Other commodities include rubber, pepper, groundnuts and timber. There is no lack of timber for roughly three-quarters of Cambodia is forest land.

Since the end of the war foreign trade has considerably expanded and current trade figures indicate not only a far from unfavourable balance of payments but also a steady rise in exports to countries in Asia, Europe and the United States. Thanks chiefly to the US, aid plans are in hand to increase industrial production and improve the existing network of communications, notably the construction of a port on the Gulf of Siam capable of accommodating ships of sea-going tonnage. Despite the march of time the Cambodians are still inclined to regard trade as a somewhat



*His Majesty King Norodom Suramarit and the Queen of Cambodia*

"inferior" occupation. The merchant class is for the most part provided by the 320,000 strong Vietnamese; the Chinese (218,000), and the large Indian communities all of which are "monopolists" in their own right.

Politically, Cambodia is a constitutional monarchy, the present ruler being King Norodom Suramarit, who came to the Throne on March 2. Parliament consists of an elected National Assembly of 91 members and a nominated Council of the Realm of 24. The other institutions at the national and local level are modelled on the French pattern as is indeed the Constitution. Under the Franco-Cambodian Treaty of November 8, 1949, Cambodia was recognised as "an Associated State within the French Union." The Geneva Conference of July, 1954 (which ended the war in Indo-China), recognised Cambodia as a sovereign and



independent state.

What of the future? To this question various answers can be given. At home there can be little doubt that the victory of the "Popular Socialist Community" will have far-reaching consequences in more ways than one. The main plank in the party's programme is social reform and the elimination of corruption and nepotism in the administration. Then there is the question of whether or not Cambodia should remain within the French Union; a thorny issue which is bound to lead to some hard bargaining between Cambodia and France before an acceptable solution is found. But a far more serious problem is that of Cambodia's security. Like most small nations the Cambodians have no greater wish than to be left alone. This,

however, may or may not be the view of two other "interested parties"—North Vietnam and China. Since the end of the Geneva Conference there has been an alarming increase in the military build-up of the Viet Minh regular army, which, if continued at the current rate, will make of North Viet-Nam the second strongest military power in South-East Asia. Recent incidents in Laos and Cambodia itself have clearly proved that all is far from well with the precarious "peace" in the area.

#### POINTS OF TENSION—(continued from p. 14)

contacts on the island, and offering the people there something concrete when the time comes for America to throw the whole Formosa affair overboard. By continuing peaceful contacts with her Asian neighbours, China is proving America's statements, that she is aggressive, to be wrong. With this sort of attitude from China, the United States is going to find her whole Asian policy called into question if she refuses to make some move in lessening tension in the Far East. The Taiwan affair is only a part, though a very important part, of the American—indeed the western—position in Asia, and the idea is taking shape in Asian capitals that a final settlement of the West's place in Asia is about due.

China is not the only country which is concerned with Western influence, particularly militarily, in the area. When one talks of tensions in the Far East, one is not thinking of tension between one Asian country and another. Since the Japanese war these have been rare, and in any case not of the magnitude that could lead to a global conflict if allowed to get out of hand. Tension is centred only on those countries where Western influence is greatest. The countries of the region themselves seem to get along quite well together. This theory has been exercising statesmen's minds in Asian capitals other than Peking recently.

The idea of a Far Eastern conference is beginning to take shape, not on the Afro-Asian pattern—that has another purpose. This should be a Far Eastern meeting between Asian countries and those western nations who continue to exercise some power in the region, so that the whole question of western strategic influence could be curtailed, and the direction of Asian relationships taken out of the framework of Western ideas of what is and what is not good for western interests. It may be argued that such a meeting is unnecessary as long as the United Nations continues to function, but the sort of problems for which solutions have to be found in the context of Far East tensions would only be encumbered by the elaborate voting machinery of the United Nations.

The West has never faced the East over a conference table about the West's justification for having so vital a say about what goes on in Asia—sometimes in the face of Asian opinion. The theory that it is about time this happened is taking shape in Asia now, and the tenuous position that America is in over her relations with China could be an admirable starting point for a whole range of subjects which, if ignored, may grow into fissures in the relationships between the orient and the occident.

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# ISSUES IN AUSTRALIAN ELECTION

By Charles Meeking (EASTERN WORLD Correspondent in Canberra)

WHILE the leaders of the three Australian political parties (Liberal, Labour and Country) insisted publicly that the issues of the poll on December 10 were economic, there was no doubt in the public's mind that the real question was "Menzies or Evatt?" and that the future of Opposition Leader Dr. H. V. Evatt and the Labour party was in the balance.

The poll is for the House of Representatives, which has completed only half its three-year term, and for half the Senate, to fill the 30 seats in that Chamber which become vacant at the end of next June. One South Australian seat, held by Shipping Minister G. McLeay who died recently, will be filled immediately. No one in Australia doubts that Mr. R. G. Menzies, who has now been in office on this occasion for exactly six years, will be returned as Prime Minister with a House of Representatives majority. But before polling day there still seems more than an even chance that the Government might lose its slender hold on the Senate. This in turn might lead to yet another election. Australia has now had four general elections in six years.

This perplexing situation is not due to any real loss of the Government's popularity. It is still well ahead in public opinion polls. However, its Senate vote was so large in 1949 that on this occasion the majority of retiring Senators are Government supporters. Hence to retain a Senate majority next year the Government must win at least three of the five vacancies in each of the six States, and this is regarded as almost a political impossibility.

In South Australia, where the Labour split is negligible, and in New South Wales, where Labour is active despite its divisions, the prospects of a Government majority are most in doubt. Main concentration of the Government's campaign has been in these two States, both with the object of seeking a Senate victory and of securing so large a majority in the House of Representatives that the Opposition in the Senate, even if it gets the numbers, will be overawed. There is no doubt also that the Prime Minister and his party are determined to inflict the most crushing defeat possible upon Dr. Evatt.

They have even some hope of unseating Dr. Evatt in his own electorate of Barton, in the south-western suburbs of Sydney. Even if he retains his seat, they feel that Labour must drop him as leader if the general defeat is sufficiently large.

This campaign, due mainly to a genuine belief that Dr. Evatt is a danger to the country by reason of his stand on the Petrov inquiry and associated matters, may have an unexpected effect. If the "swinging voters" who determine the results of all Australian elections are convinced that he is being unfairly persecuted they may even turn back in some numbers to his support.

Other aspects open a wide field of speculation. If, in the event, Labour "drops the Doctor," who is to replace

him as leader of the Opposition? The parliamentary party is short of experienced talent, and none of the three or four members regularly mentioned—A. A. Calwell, E. Ward, A. Fraser and R. Pollard—appears to have the qualities desirable for national leadership or for the urgent and great task of pulling the party together again, re-inspiring it with a sense of unity and purpose, and giving it a drive and direction which will re-establish public confidence in it. Someone must undertake this task after the election, if only for the sake of checking the Government's smug drift into complacency in the absence of effective opposition.

Another vital point is the future of the breakaway Anti-Communist Labour party. Observers doubted if any of the seven members of this splinter party in the House would survive the poll, but they acknowledged that the party's campaign against Dr. Evatt on the issues of the Petrov report and Communism might have far-reaching effects. The party's presence in the campaign also underlined the sectarian issue inside the Labour party.

More importantly, the one Senate member of the Anti-Communist Labour party is not due to retire next June. It is possible in the circumstances that he may hold the balance of power in the Senate. This possibility is causing some severe political headaches among the other parties.

In spite of everything, Labour has welcomed the election as offering the chance of a new start from bedrock. On the Government side the younger back-benchers, who have been fretting under a frustrated urge for work and office since 1949, feel that at last some Cabinet posts may be opened to them. One of their number, H. B. Gullett, Government Whip, has taken the extreme step of retiring from Parliament. The rest believe that the move of the elderly Minister for the Navy and Army, J. Francis, to the post of Consul-General in New York is a pointer to a reshuffle after the election and the dropping of some of the "old guard," especially the older Ministers from the Country Party ranks.

Foreign affairs have played little part in the campaign. Public opinion mainly supports the retention of troops in Malaya, which Labour opposes, and is lukewarm on the recognition of Communist China.

The Government's new approach to relationships with Asia came too late to have much appreciable effect on the campaign, although it was widely welcomed. It seemed certain that after the election the Government would review its current policy of non-recognition of Communist China, especially in view of the lead given by Canada.

The problem of relationships with Russia had also to be faced, especially in view of the effect on wool prices of Russia's absence from wool auctions.\* The great need

\* See *Eastern World*, November p.12.

in trade, and in the restoration of Australia's depleted overseas balances, was for more exports at higher prices, and for lowered production costs, particularly in secondary manufactures. It seemed that the Government would agree with Labour that promotion of more trade with both Russia and China was desirable, but in the case of Russia the diplomatic difficulty still existed.

It was Russia which withdrew from normal relations after the Petrov defection. The Royal Commission found that the Russian Embassy had been a centre for espionage, even if largely ineffectual. Who would now make the first move for rapprochement, and under what stipulations?

The campaign itself was short and sharp, with more use than ever of national and commercial broadcasting.

(By the next poll Australia should have television in at least two States.)

The vital points will be the size of the majority which Mr. Menzies and his government will get in the House of Representatives (present House: Government parties, 64; Labour, 50; Anti-Communist Labour, 7; plus two non-voting seats held by Labour), and the actual result in the Senate.

Voting is compulsory (under pain of a £2 fine for failure to vote without reasonable excuse), and with a 96 per cent., poll expected from 5,400,000 voters it may be some days before the Senate situation is determined. The position in the House of Representatives will be known late on the evening of December 10.

## THE SWABASHA MOVEMENT IN CEYLON

*By Edgar Fernando (Jaela, Ceylon)*

"**SWABASHA**" means one's own language (swa: one's own; basha: language) and in Ceylon today, it means the adoption of Sinhalese and Tamil as the national languages of the country. About 70 per cent. of the population of Ceylon speak Sinhalese, while the rest speak Tamil, save for a small infusion of Burghers and Europeans who speak English. Swabasha has become a great national problem today, and its significance is not merely local or national: it will have its effects on international politics as well; for though the General Elections are to be held in 1957, a "snap" election is expected any time in the course of the next few months, and the Swabasha issue will be the determining factor in the General Elections.

To look at the Swabasha problem in its proper perspective, a glimpse into the British period of Ceylon history is necessary. The British captured Ceylon from the Dutch in 1796 and ruled the country till 1948. During their regime, English became the official language of the country. The development of English was everywhere fostered, sometimes to the neglect of the National languages, Sinhalese and Tamil. The use of English became prominent, if not pre-eminent in the affairs of the country, and there was a time when the national languages were in grave danger of decay. A reaction set in about the early years of the twentieth century, and the Ceylonese began to study their languages and culture seriously, and it was soon evident that they were the descendants of a race that had a rich cultural background. This fact gathered momentum as the century wore on, and in the 1930's the question of giving due place to the national languages assumed the character of being a great national problem. The question was much debated in the State Council, but the British, to the last day of their rule in Ceylon, retained English as the official language of the country. English was the language of the administration, it was the medium of instruction in schools and in the University, and for the time being, it appeared as the unifying bond among the various races in Ceylon. But this was only a superficial unity.

February 4th, 1948, saw Ceylon once again as an independent country. On the withdrawal of the British, the governing of the country fell to the United National Party, whose leader the late Right Hon. D. S. Senanayake is affectionately remembered as the "Father" of Ceylon. The policy of Mr. D. S. Senanayake as Prime Minister was to give equal status to both Sinhalese and Tamil in the affairs of the country. But at that time the question of Swabasha was not quite in the forefront of national

events, as there were other problems that faced the new dominion.

But today, seven years after Independence, the question has become acute. The issue is not whether Sinhalese and Tamil will be given pride of place; that issue has been fairly settled, and English will be relegated to the position of a second language. The question is whether Sinhalese and Tamil are to be given parity of status. The majority community are for Sinhalese, and they demand that Sinhalese only be made the national language. Among those who advocate such a policy is Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake, M.P., Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives and a former Cabinet Minister, and an active supporter of the movement.

The Swabasha question is of political significance since it will be the main premise on which the forthcoming General Elections will be fought. If the United National Party is returned to power (the present Government) it will stand for close co-operation and understanding with the UK and USA and will not make any radical changes in present policy. If the Sri Lanka Freedom Party is returned (of which Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake is the Leader) it will lead to closer contacts with the Asian nations and perhaps to the severance of Commonwealth relations.

The declared policy of the United National Party is to give equality of status to both Sinhalese and Tamil. But recent developments have made such a stand untenable. Many members of the Party want Sinhalese alone to be made the national language, and a motion to this effect will be moved at the next session of the Party. A final decision however will not be taken as to the course of action the Government will adopt till the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawela returns from his Australian tour. At the time of writing he is still in Australia. It is significant that the seconder of the "Sinhalese only" motion is a close associate of the Prime Minister. If the Government Party decides that Sinhalese be made the national language it will result in the party forfeiting the support of the Tamil population. But if it accepts the parity suggestion—if Sinhalese and Tamil be made the national languages it will "alienate" Sinhalese support, which is the more substantial.

The arguments put forward for the adoption of Sinhalese alone as the national language are, in theory, unassailable: Sinhalese is the language used by 70 per cent. of the people and therefore in the interests of the majority the administration of

the Government should be conducted in Sinhalese. Secondly, it is argued that unless Sinhalese be restored to its rightful place it will die before long, and it is therefore the duty of the Sinhalese to save their language and culture from decay. It is also pointed out that the Tamils need have no such fear for Tamil is a "living" language in the vast sub-continent of India and they can always look to India for their cultural advancement. Finally it is argued that for national unity there should be a single national language.

However, the adoption of Sinhalese as the national language will not solve all our problems. There are many questions that remain unanswered. The language of instruction is still English in the University of Ceylon, and how long will it take for the switch-over to be effected? English is the key to higher education

and Law, Medicine and Engineering are still done in English. Would it be ever possible to do these subjects in Sinhalese? Can the job of translating books written on such technical subjects be accomplished successfully? While in theory the adoption of Sinhalese as the national language seems desirable, for reasons of practical expediency the complete switch-over will have to be halted for some time to come. Higher education will continue to be in English; but the administration of the country generally can be carried out in Sinhalese. At the present time all education up to the Junior School Certificate is in Sinhalese and Tamil and from 1956 onwards they will be the only media of instruction in the pre-Senior School Certificate classes and finally these languages will take the place of English in the Senior School Certificate classes and in the University.

## THE AWAKENING OF JAPAN FIFTY YEARS AGO

By Chushichi Tsuzuki (Tokyo)

A LITTLE book entitled *The Awakening of Japan* was published in 1905, in which the author, Kakuzo Okakura, said that Japan was essentially a peaceful country and was never aggressive. Japan had been at war with Russia and patriotism at home ran so high that Okakura must have felt obliged to excuse his fellow countrymen. At any rate, during the course of 1904 British papers reported almost every day the desperate Japanese attacks on Port Arthur. Under the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902 Britain took a neutral but friendly attitude toward the belligerent islanders. In October, 1904, when the Russian Baltic Fleet on its way to the Far East attacked the Hull fishing smacks in the North Sea, British sympathy with her ally aroused to its highest pitch. "Nobody wants to see the war extended, but surely some means should be adopted to round up and disarm this precious Baltic Squadron before it any does more mischief." The man who expressed this average English opinion was H. M. Hyndman, leader of the Social Democratic Federation, whose ardent support of any national aspiration was apt to surpass his equally strong belief in international socialism. He had been with Garibaldi's army during the Italian struggle for national unity. He took seriously the cause of Irish Home Rule and wrote tirelessly against the British Rule in India.

Already in November, 1903, Hyndman declared that a war between Russia and Japan was imminent and Japan would win. A few days after the declaration of the war he wrote in his party organ, *Justice*, that Japan was quite right to make war before Russia, her oppressor, could use peace to her detriment. There were, however, a number of convinced pacifists in his party. E. Belfort Bax, who had been annoyed by Hyndman's patriotism whenever it was carried too far, asked him whether in this case Russia had been oppressing Japan and "whether it was not rather a case of *Arcades Ambo*, both the Arcadians wishing to grab the sway of Manchuria or Korea or as much of China as they could get." Hyndman was furious and wrote impetuously:

"I consider Japan fully justified in making war upon Russia. Bax doesn't. Russian Social-Democrats strongly approve of my articles on the subject. Bax doesn't. I hold that Poles, Georgians, Finns, Boers, Indian natives, Philipinos, Arabs, Japanese, &c., have the right to make war on their conquerors and oppressors. Bax doesn't. Very well. He imagines that the majority of Socialists agree with him and not with me. Very well also. That can easily be argued out at the Amsterdam Congress."

Indeed, the Russian socialists had a reason to share Hyndman's view, for they were prepared to hit hard in the following year's revolutionary rising against "the wretched system of despotism" which, Hyndman said later, "is finally doomed, and its downfall has happily been much accelerated by the long series of Japanese victories."

"The dramatic coup of the opening of Congress" struck the Countess of Warwick who was then in Amsterdam and wrote her impressions on the occasion:

"A Jap (Sen Katayama) moved the Resolution, in a speech of an hour in fluent English, a Russian (George V. Plekhanov) seconded, a gem of oratory, in French, then 10,000 hands were held up, and a shout to blow the roof off the great Concert Hall in Amsterdam went up, as Jap and Russian gripped hands, for a moment, in the universal Brotherhood of Man."

That was the verdict on the Hyndman-Bax controversy given by the majority of socialists represented at the International Congress, during the course of which Hyndman had to keep silence, but at the closing of the Congress he rose up to point out the significance of the fact that for the first time Asia had been represented at an International Socialist Congress, and concluded his five-minute speech by saying: "Asia for the Asiatics, and Freedom and Justice for All Mankind!"

Hyndman saw in Japanese victories an initial stage of the Asian emancipation. "What Japan is doing why should not India do?" he asked. His Indian friend, Dadabhai Naoroji, was another Asian delegate at Amsterdam. He was certain that the Chinese would eventually "make a clean sweep of the Christian preachers and blood-suckers." And he wished to these three countries the power to work out their own destinies in their own way.

Meanwhile, the small circle of socialist-pacifists continued to blame him for his jingoism, but he was as obstinate as ever, and argued that this war of Japan was not "a capitalist war pure and simple" and that "an economic interpretation pure and simple" was sheer nonsense. Yet he was aware of the possibility that Japan would "take the wretched course followed by our own country after Plassey, Trafalgar, and Waterloo, and devote herself wholly to piling up wealth for the few at the expense of the many." But his optimism did not allow him to paint a dismal picture. Mankind was "capable of learning from the past how consciously to handle the future," and this wisdom of the human being was now confirmed by "the fact that we



already have a Socialist party in Japan." In March, 1905, when Mukden was captured by Marshal Oyama's army, Hyndman wrote in *Justice* an article entitled "Banzai" in which he said: "this great nation has taught a lesson in patriotism to the whole civilised world. She may yet teach us all a lesson in Socialism!"

Socialism in Japan! The awakening of Japan appeared to the small group of English socialists to be the awakening of socialism in that far-off island. Even Bax hoped that Japan would go into socialism without passing through a capitalist era. They were, however, soon to realise the tremendous difficulties under which the Japanese socialists had to carry on their work. A Combination Act of 1900 had prevented the growth of an embryonic trade union movement, and had turned the organising efforts of its leaders into political and educational activities. A Social-Democratic Party, however, was immediately dissolved by the government in 1901 when it was formed and declared its revolutionary programme. A Socialist Society, which had been organised as early as in 1898, met the same fate in 1904 soon after the declaration of the war against Russia. The Heiminsha movement (founded in November, 1903) with Democracy, Socialism and Pacifism as its slogans fared very badly during the war and ceased to exist by the end of 1905. The weekly *Heimin* (People) had been suppressed at the beginning of the year. A few socialist papers, one after another, were undertaken only to be suppressed after a brief trying existence. In 1906 there was a socialist revival under a Liberal government, and a Japanese Socialist Party was organised with its organ, the *Study of Socialism*, the red cover of which was copied from the *Social-Democrat* of London. A daily socialist paper, *Heimin*, was started in January, 1907, when great strikes broke out in the two large copper mines of Ashio and Besshi, and the government, alarmed by these labour riots, put many socialists into prison and suppressed their papers. Then a blow came from within. At the second and last annual conference of the Japanese Socialist Party held in February, 1907, the party split into two factions: one called Second International led by Katayama, and another, syndicalist, whose leader, Shusui Kotoku, had spent a few months early in 1906 studying the IWW in America. Katayama's faction issued the *Socialist Weekly*, according to which Hyndman's *Economics of Socialism* had been used as a main text-book at a socialist summer-school held in August, 1907, the month when Keir Hardie visited Japan and was welcomed by Japanese comrades at Kingsley Hall in Tokyo. Although Hardie met Count Okuma and asked him about the persecution of socialists by his government, he could not do anything to improve the situation. Some time afterwards Sen Katayama wrote to Hyndman:

"Our Government . . . and the police authorities treat us Socialists like animals and interfere with us at every step. It is almost impossible to get bread for a Socialist . . ."

"Instead of learning from the West what to avoid (Japan) has imitated our worst method," declared *Justice*. It was not only on account of the socialist persecution that the English socialists were disillusioned about Japan. Already in 1907 *Justice* denounced Japanese jingoism and capitalism: "Japanese rule in Korea has been as bad and truculent as the worst kind of Muscovite tyranny. . . . It is a great mistake for which they may have to pay dearly some day." In 1910 when Japan announced the annexation of Korea, the Executive Council of Hyndman's party passed a resolution to condemn Japanese aggression upon "the ancient and peaceful kingdom of Korea."

Their disillusion was further increased when they read in *Justice* a series of articles entitled "Japan from the Workers' Point of View," by F. Kummer, a German socialist, who had

stayed four months in that land of contrast—contrast of glorious landscapes and miserable towns. Kummer had visited the coal mines of Takashima near Nagasaki. "As was the case everywhere in Japan, I was received by the Mikado's police," he wrote; "on my arrival at Takashima the police . . . put many impertinent questions to me. But is there in Japan no liberty for the citizen? Certainly. It is almost as big as that in Russia." Then he went north and paid an unpleasant visit to the Ashio copper mine, "a stronghold of benevolent feudalism." The cotton mills appeared to him worse than the mines. "When I visited the largest spinning-mill of the country, three dozen very sparsely-dressed girls were lying on the bare floor in the sleeping barracks. They were suffering from consumption." He was surprised to see various satisfactory accounts of Japan's modern labour movement reported in the American, English and French press. He remembered that the American delegate, Simons, at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress of 1907 had said: "Japan has developed in a short time, not only to the point of capitalism, but even to that of Socialism!" But Kummer failed to find either a modern trade union or a Socialist party worth mentioning. The industrial workers of Japan seemed to him "mentally and physically still undeveloped." They were only yesterday tilling the soil, so "submission, respect for authority and a terrible jingoism still rule (their) mind."

Despite Kummer's failure to find a socialist party—a party probably in a German sense—the Mikado's police was hunting for socialists in a Japanese way. The militarist ministry of Katsura had suppressed all the socialist journals. In 1910 Katayama wrote to Jean Longuet, son-in-law of Karl Marx: "The result of these Russian methods has been to drive some of our people to extreme measures, and that is how the recent plot arose to blow up the Mikado with dynamite." Katayama referred to the trial of Kotoku and others for that alleged plot and asked Longuet to give this government persecution the utmost publicity. Accordingly, the Copenhagen International Socialist Congress of 1910 passed a pious resolution to "condemn the measures taken by the Japanese Government to oppress the Labour-Socialist movement in that country—measures which show that the true character of this Government is a mixture of arbitrary absolutism and of capitalist brutality." Nevertheless, the trial had been carried on without any interruption and with strict secrecy. The Executive of the Fabian Society, local branches of the SDP and the ILP sent protests to the Japanese Embassy in London against the abnormal conditions under which twenty-six revolutionaries and Liberals had been condemned to death. Similar protests were sent to the Japanese Embassies in Paris and Berlin. Early in 1911, however, out of the twenty-six condemned to death, twelve had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life and the others, including Kotoku and his wife, were handed over to the executioner. The *Labour Leader*, ILP organ, published an editorial entitled "The Japanese Martyrs" and declared that this "judicial murder" was "a move towards extirpating Socialism by attempting to extirpate the Socialists." A. Fenner Brockway interviewed Robert Young, editor of the *Japanese Chronicle*, and wrote "The Truth about the Japanese Persecution" in the same paper, in order to show that the trial had been nothing but a mockery and there was no evidence of the plot.

Katayama left Japan in 1914 and wrote from San Francisco to Hyndman: "I am really driven out of my country because of socialism." Hyndman had ceased to be a Japanophile and had realised that the awakening of Japan was after all the awakening of capitalism-cum-nationalism in that far-off island of the Mikado and his peasants.



# LONDON NOTEBOOK

## Colonial Freedom Meeting

Colonial peoples all over the world have a vehement champion of their rights in the Movement For Colonial Freedom, an organisation which, though formed only in April last year, has already gained considerable strength in Britain. Its work takes place broadly on two fronts: it seeks to maintain association with the movements of the people in the colonial and other dependent territories, to act as a "clearing house" in this country for their problems; at the same time it seeks to organise in Britain an effective machinery to voice the national aspirations of colonial peoples and to influence Government policies. At its headquarters in London the M.C.F. receives hundreds of reports from colonial territories, which are studied by special committees who make recommendations as to what action should be taken. Seventy-two Members of Parliament are now active members of the organisation, and through them some 1,500 questions have been asked in Parliament on colonial issues. The M.C.F. has published a number of pamphlets on colonial questions. Many Labour and Socialist organisations are affiliated to the M.C.F. which has branches in several cities in Britain.

Malaya was an important subject of discussion at the annual conference of the M.C.F. held at the end of October under the chairmanship of Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P. The colossal expenditure of the Malayan war (costing the Malayan people £30 millions a year and the British taxpayer £68 millions) and the high casualties (16,000 killed, wounded and missing) were particularly emphasised by the speakers, who were also strongly critical of the British capitalist's exploitation of Malaya's natural resources and of the British Government's use, "under American pressure," of Malaya as a SEATO base. A resolution passed by the Conference, while welcoming the proposal of the Malayan Liberation Movement for a cease-fire, considered the Government's "so-called amnesty" in fact "merely a call for complete surrender." It said that the one-sided conditions of the amnesty prevent a real solution of the problem. The Conference called for "genuine negotiations" on both sides, the withdrawal of all British troops and the guaranteeing of freedom of expression for all political views in Malaya.

## Chinese Opera in London

For the first time for over ninety years, English audiences were able last month to see authentic excerpts from the classical Chinese Opera. The Peking Opera Company, who are on a European tour, had a three weeks' season at a London theatre. The programme consisted mostly of excerpts from both classical and modern Chinese opera, interspersed with folk dances and music. The choice of programme was a vivid introduction into the Chinese opera's intense combination of dance, music, and mime. The latter

*Tu Chin-fang, as the Dragon King's Daughter with the Friend of the Ox King, played by Li Fu-yu, from the ballet "Trouble in Heaven"*



was beautifully illustrated by a scene depicting a boatman and his passenger. With only bamboo sticks for props, the whole scene was so perfectly enacted that not a single gesture could be misinterpreted. The chief attraction for Western audiences, however, was the incredible choreography, amounting to acrobatic ballet, in which movements were timed to a hair's breadth—while the dancers themselves leaped and twirled, bounded and rebounded with a speed that was almost superhuman.

## Japanese Art and the West

"Western influence on Japanese Art" is the theme of the winter exhibition of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum. The period covered is from mid-sixteenth century, when Japan made its first contact with the West, to late nineteenth century, which marks a new phase in Western influence, the beginning of oil painting. This new phase could not be included as the British Museum does not concern itself with oil paintings.

Two aspects of Japan's contacts with the West can be seen in the exhibition: one, Western influence on Japanese technique in visual arts and in printing; the other, the Japanese attitude to Westerners.

The Japanese first saw Europeans in 1542, when three Portuguese travelling in a Chinese vessel were driven ashore on Tanegashima. They carried arquebuses (an early type of portable gun) and their arrival made a great impression so that it was long remembered in Japan. For the next sixty years the Portuguese were the only Europeans with

whom the Japanese were in contact. However, as the commerce carried on between them was largely a carrying trade, the imports into Japan being mainly Chinese silks, Indian cotton goods and spices from the South Seas, Portuguese influence was restricted, although their gay clothes and carriage, their moustaches and cloaks, their ships and guns, were novelties which excited much interest. From the Portuguese period there is comparatively little on view, apart from a few books printed by the press which the Jesuit mission of St. Francis Xavier established in 1588, and which continued to work until 1614. The types, first of wood and then of metal, were cut in Japan, and the books include a Japanese translation of Aesop's Fables in 1592 and the first Japanese dictionary in 1598.

The bulk of the exhibits belongs to the two centuries of Dutch influence which followed. Many of the most attractive and amusing pictures are from this period. It was during this time that Japanese artists began to try their hand at perspective. The first impacts of science also appear during this period. The exhibition has a good selection from the works of Shiba Kokan (1738-1818), who took a keen interest in science in general and especially astronomy. In 1788 he published a series of engraved plates illustrating the sun and moon, celestial charts of the northern and southern hemispheres. Many examples of these plates are shown.

The third and final period shown in the exhibition was one of general Western influence. By the middle of the nineteenth

century, Russians and Americans had arrived and a real flood of western things and ideas began. Due mainly to political causes (like the Chinese Opium War of 1841), there was also at this time a strong nationalistic and anti-foreign feeling which is evident in some of the caricatures of foreigners. One such is a picture of "An American sailor on the spree," shown with geisha girl and sake bottle. But on the whole, the treatment of the foreigner in these pictures is much less unflattering than, for instance, of the French in English caricatures of the period.

#### Career in Cambodia

Many top diplomats in London attended the reception given at the Dorchester Hotel last month by the Cambodian Ambassador and Madame Au Chheun to celebrate the anniversary of Cambodia's independence. It seemed that French was being spoken more than any other language among the little knots of conversationalists.

Mr. Au Chheun, who greeted his guests in French, was giving his first reception in London since becoming Ambassador in May of this year. He is considered to be one of the most eminent statesmen in his country, having had a long and varied political career. Now, however, he prefers the life of a diplomat to that of a politician.

Born in 1903 of a peasant family, Mr. Au Chheun was unable to have the advantages of a high school education, but this did not hamper his career. In 1946 he was called by King Norodom Sihanouk into the Cambodian Government as Secretary of State for Religious Affairs. He held many offices in his country and in 1948 was elected a member

of the Royal Council and appointed Superintendent of Political Administrative matters. Two years later he became permanent Deputy of the King on the Cabinet Council.



H.E. Mr. Au Chheun

After he was made Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister in 1953, he represented his country at the Coronation, in London, of Queen Elizabeth II. As President of the Cambodian delegation at the inter-state conference in Paris last year, Mr. Au Chheun

signed the conventions which made Cambodia an independent state.

#### New Film About Insect Pests

A new Shell documentary, "The Rival World," shown to journalists recently in London, is a startling film. It shows the fierce fight in which the human race is involved with the world of insects. What a hostile world it is! Numerically it outnumbers men by fifty millions to one. It takes a third of all the food we grow, to half the men who die death is brought by insects. A man dies of malaria every ten seconds. The culicine mosquito strikes twenty millions in India alone with elephantiasis.

It is in tropical and sub-tropical countries where the depredations of these insects are most clearly seen. The film shows the grim activities of the mosquito, tsetse and other disease carriers and some of the control methods used to fight them. It shows the attack of insects on food, following them from the fruit orchards of Europe to the maize plots of Africa, from the wheatlands of the West to the tea gardens of the East. In a highly dramatic sequence we see a locust invasion in East Africa and an aerial counter-attack from planes which fly through thick swarms spraying clouds of insecticide.

The aim of the film, which was produced with the co-operation of the World Health Organisation and the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, is to point out the seriousness of the threat of this rival world and the necessity to organise on a world-wide scale all the modern scientific resources in fighting the enemy. In this object the film succeeds admirably.

## FROM ALL QUARTERS

### More Repatriates from Indonesia

A ministerial reply in the Netherlands Lower Chamber of the States-General indicates that the flow of repatriates from Indonesia has increased during the present year, and that it is not expected to decrease even in 1956. Between January 1 and the end of September, money advances had to be granted in 821 cases involving 2,668 people, and such grants were refused in 369 cases involving 1,224 people. About 2,000 people who had benefited by such grants, including a number from last year, are still awaiting travelling facilities, but are expected to be able to leave Indonesia before the end of 1955.

On the subject of the Amboinese in Holland, the same ministerial reply states that the solution must be sought in the long run in the departure of the Amboinese either for Indonesia or for somewhere else. The Indonesian Government was now prepared to co-operate towards the return of the Amboinese to Indonesia. Reports that a declaration of regret was to be exacted from the Amboinese for having come to Holland appeared to be incorrect, and they would only have to sign a declaration of loyalty to the Indonesian Government. At present, the Dutch Government, the ministerial reply concluded, was awaiting an official statement by the Indonesian authorities on the subject.

Repatriation would always have to be voluntary, and there were reasonable grounds for the assumption that at least a great majority, if not all, of the 6,000 Amboinese registered with the three best known of their organisations in Holland would

welcome the opportunity of repatriation. With regard to the other 16,000 Amboinese in the country, the Minister's reply says that their attitude has not yet been ascertained.

### Japan's Zuider Zee

An important land reclamation scheme is to be carried out in Japan on the lines of the famous Zuider Zee project. The whole area of Ariake Bay, near Nagasaki, will be blocked off by a dyke six miles long and the sea water will then be pumped out, leaving canals for the rivers that flow into the bay. In this way, it is expected to reclaim more than 185,000 acres of new farmland to be planted mainly with rice and wheat. These crops will provide a valuable addition to Japan's food supplies.

### United Kingdom Flood Relief for India and Pakistan

Flood relief supplies purchased by the British Red Cross out of the grant of £50,000 made by HM Government in the United Kingdom are beginning to arrive in India and Pakistan.

The Indian and Pakistan Red Cross Societies have forwarded information as to the relief supplies most urgently needed by those countries and the British Red Cross have placed orders accordingly. Blankets, warm clothing and drugs are high on the list.

One million tablets of sulphaguanadine were flown out to Pakistan in response to a cabled request from the National Red Cross Society; drugs and protective foods (multi-vitamins

and cod-liver oil) are being flown in weekly consignments to India. Blankets, warm clothing and other bulky supplies are being despatched by sea. Some of the most urgently needed clothing is being bought in India, and a cheque for the purpose has been handed by the United Kingdom High Commissioner in India, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, to the Secretary-General of the Indian Red Cross Society.

#### Norway and the Colonial Question

Norwegian Foreign Minister Halvard Lange, in a recent review of the international situation in Parliament, gave a detailed account of the United Nations General Assembly's proceedings on colonial questions. He prefaced his report with the following statement on Norway's general attitude: "We in Norway are agreed that colonial government all over the world is being, and must be, liquidated. It is an historical process that cannot be stopped. We must hope that the day is not distant when every nation will recognise this truth, so that discussion can be confined to the question of the speed and method of liquidation." The time factor was particularly important. "The measure of time which history has allotted our generation for the solution of these problems is rapidly running out. I hope that this factor is sufficiently recognised by those who bear the primary responsibility."

#### New Printing Technique for Hindi

A new method of printing Oriental scripts by a photographic technique is likely to have far-reaching consequences in the development of literacy campaigns now being carried out in many Asian countries. Several companies in the United States and in Japan are adapting this technique to the type-setting of various Asian alphabets.

For example, a machine for photo-composing the Devanagari script, or written form of Hindi, has been much discussed in India. The Devanagari script, which is derived from the classical Sanskrit, contains an almost limitless number of characters though, in actual practice, the number has been limited to 700-1,000.

Photo-composition, however, has made it possible to reduce the number of basic Devanagari characters to about 175, including numerals and punctuation. The machine, which is operated like a typewriter, works by means of light flashed through a photographic negative of the character on to the sensitised film behind.

Another photo-composing machine is now being designed for Chinese writing. It will have a basic keyboard of only 26 keys and will be capable of selecting any desired ideograph. It is estimated that, in this manner, Chinese may be composed about a hundred times faster than is possible by hand composition.

#### Book on Sinhalese Art to be Reprinted

The Ceylon Government is to subsidise the reprinting of the late Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's major work *Medieval Sinhalese Art*.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's work, which was printed privately some years ago, is now so rare that single copies have been known to fetch up to one thousand rupees. The Government subsidy will ensure that the book is so priced as to bring it within the reach of the maximum number of readers.

#### Statue of Ceylon's First Prime Minister

Ceylon's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, Sir Claude Corea, has approved the casting in bronze of the statue of the late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, Ceylon's first Prime Minister, after seeing a plaster prototype at sculptor James Woodford's studio in London.

The work on the casting will begin shortly and is expected to be finished in about eight months. The plaster statue depicts the late premier in European dress, with the left hand in the coat pocket and some papers in his right hand.

#### Asian Tour for Australian Scientist

One of Australia's most eminent medical scientists, Sir Macfarlane Burnet, will make a direct contribution to scientific knowledge in Ceylon and India during a tour begun last month under the Colombo Plan.

Sir Macfarlane Burnet is Director of the Walter and Eliza Hall Research Institute in Melbourne, and is one of the world's foremost authorities on virus diseases and micro-biology. He is to attend a meeting of the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science, and later an important medical conference to be held at Nagpur in India from December 12 to December 19. He will also visit hospitals and research centres in the two countries before returning to Melbourne in January.

#### New Emigration Aid Company to be Established in Japan

Emigration as one step in solving Japan's population problem will be given a new boost early next year with the establishment of a semi-governmental organisation to be called the Japan Emigration Aid Co., Ltd. The Japanese Government will co-operate in this project which will deal mainly with granting loans to emigrants for transportation purposes and for establishing themselves in the country accepting them. The new company will be capitalised at ¥175 million (£175,000) with investments to be sought from both Government and civilian circles. This fund is now being raised.

Plans call, at the same time, for a working fund for use in the countries which accept Japanese immigrants. Negotiations with three private American banks to set up this dollar fund were begun last autumn by ex-Prime Minister Yoshida during his visit to the United States. The talks were completed by the Hatoyama Government. The new company will make loans to cover transportation charges, to get farms started and to undertake other independent pursuits. It will also take into consideration the extension of loans abroad, to farms, industries, fisheries and other forms of enterprises which will employ Japanese immigrants and can operate on a profitable basis. It is stated that the type of enterprises chosen for such loans will be carefully chosen in order to avoid friction with local entrepreneurs.

#### Japanese Delegations in Eastern Europe

A delegation of deputies of the Japanese Parliament recently visited Rumania at the invitations of the Rumanian National Group of the inter-Parliamentary Union. They visited various regions of the country, and were particularly impressed by the up-to-date installations in the old port of Constanta which, according to one of the Japanese, was better equipped than the port of Yokohama. Discussing the prospects of developing trade relations between Japan and Rumania, the visitors pointed out that Japan could import from Rumania oil, maize, fodder and other products, while Japan could supply machinery, ships and consumer goods.

A Japanese trade delegation also visited Hungary recently, and after their visit the leader expressed the hope that by the end of this year proper business relations would begin between the two countries.

#### Japan Asked to Return Buddhist Relic

Chinese Buddhists are strongly opposed to the suggestion that a portion of the skull of the famous monk Hsuan Chuang, which is now in Japan, should be sent to Formosa.

Hsuan Chuang was born in 596 A.D. and died in 664. He was not only a great Buddhist writer and translator but also



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made a great contribution to the cultural exchange between China and India. His work *Tatangsiyuki* (Memoirs of Western Countries) is still a valuable source of material for research into the cultural history of Western countries and India. At his death he was buried at Changan, Shensi Province. In 667 A.D. his remains were moved to the north of Fanchou and a pagoda and temple were built to enshrine them. In the first years of the Northern Sung Dynasty, his skull was taken to Nanking by the monk Ko Cheng to a specially built pagoda.

In 1943, the Japanese destroyed the foundations of the pagoda and unearthed the stone coffin containing the relic. The skull was broken into several parts, one piece being taken to Japan. The remaining pieces have since been traced, but it is reported that the piece which is still in Japan may be sent to Formosa and this is causing Chinese Buddhists some concern. Chinese Buddhists are now preparing a commemoration of the 2,500 anniversary of the death of Gautama Buddha, to be held next year.

#### **Pest Problem of the South Pacific**

Principal economic pest of the coconut palm in many islands of the Central and South Pacific is the rhinoceros beetle, which is found in the US Trust Territory, the Samoas, Fiji, Tonga and Wallis Islands. During the last few years, it infiltrated into many islands, and quarantine measures have so far failed to block its stealthy advance. Tunnelling holes into the growing point at the crown of the coconut palm, the rhino feeds on sap and juices, damaging the opening fronds and sometimes completely destroying the palm.

It preys also on young coconut palms, causing islanders to abandon many new plantations. In the Palaus after the war, some islands were stripped bare of coconut palms by the pest. Although he prefers to take up residence in the coconut, the rhino occasionally makes his home in pineapples or sugarcane, and many varieties of palms and trees. Sanitary measures, clean-up programmes and trap-laying have failed signally to bring widespread relief. Now the Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant of \$46,000 to the South Pacific Commission to fight the rhinoceros beetle which will substantially accelerate the SPC research programme aimed at helping to combat the insect.

#### **Indus Waters Discussions**

The discussions regarding the use of the Indus waters which have been taking place in Washington between representatives of India and Pakistan with the participation of the World Bank were due to terminate on September 30, 1955. It has not been possible to bring the discussions to a successful conclusion by the specified date. Consequently by agreement between the two Governments and the Bank the terminal date for the discussions has been extended to March 31, 1956.

#### **New US Operations Chief**

Mr. Lloyd K. Larson, Director of the US Operations Mission in Norway, has been appointed head of the US Operations Mission in Thailand. He will take up his post early this month. Mr. Larson will administer an ICA programme exceeded in scope in the Far East only by those in Korea, Vietnam and Formosa. Through the Mutual Security Programme, the US has been helping Thailand to strengthen itself economically and militarily. Until late 1954, the economic programme was one of technical co-operation only, an activity still continuing at a level of \$5 million a year. By June 30, 1955, about \$65 million had been made available for economic and technical assistance, including "defence support" which is economic aid to help a country maintain larger military forces than it could otherwise afford. The ICA programmes which Mr. Larson will administer are concentrated in fields essential to Thailand's defence and economic growth, especially transportation and communication.

#### **Cocos Transfer Act**

The Cocos Island Act transferring these Indian Ocean islands to Australian administration came into force on November 23. The islands are at present used by Australia as a staging point for the trans-Indian Ocean service operated by Qantas Empire Airways, which links Australia and South Africa. Until their transfer to Australia the islands had been administered by Britain through Singapore.

#### **Joint Communiqué of Indonesia and Malaya**

On November 14, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Anak Agung Gde Agung, and the leader of the goodwill mission from the Federation of Malaya to Indonesia, Tengku Abdul Rahman, signed a joint communiqué which states that:

1. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia and that of the Malayan Federation are both of the opinion that the visit of the goodwill mission from the Malayan Federation to Indonesia has been advantageous for the strengthening of the bonds of brotherhood between the two peoples.
2. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Malayan Federation have agreed to take the following measures for furtherance in the fields of culture and education:
  - (a) Co-operation in attempts to develop the *bahasa* Indonesia and *bahasa* Malayu (Indonesian and Malayan languages) by exchanging linguists in order to arrive at a fusion of these two languages;
  - (b) Exchange of experts in the fields of education and the exchange of material in the fields of education and culture;
  - (c) The organising of exhibitions in the cultural field.
3. Both Governments agree in principle on:
  - (a) Exchange of experiences in the field of agriculture in a broad sense;
  - (b) Exchange of experts in the agricultural field with the aim of promoting agriculture in both countries;
  - (c) The promotion of mutual visits of experts so as to inform themselves of each other's experiences with regard to cultivation and processing of rubber.
4. As to products of raw material, both countries attempt to:
  - (a) Co-operate in the international field particularly with regard to tin and rubber;
  - (b) Conduct mutual visits in the interest of tin production;
  - (c) Improve trade relations between North Sumatra and Penang.
5. Both Governments are convinced that the agreements reached will contribute to close co-operation between both countries in the future.





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## BOOKS on the

In Two Chinas, *Memoirs of a Diplomat* by K. M. PANIKKAR  
(George Allen and Unwin, 12s. 6d.)

India's first Ambassador to China was appointed in 1948, a year after the British government had handed over power. Sardar Panikkar was selected for this important post and during the four years he spent in China—from 1948 to 1952—he witnessed the final stages of the disintegration and collapse of the Kuomintang regime and the setting up in its place of the People's Republic of China. His account of what happened during these eventful years will make known to a wide audience facts which have remained hidden in official archives or buried in the thousands of printed pages published by the Government Departments in Washington (the famous *White Paper* published by the State Department in August, 1949, for example, is a volume of over a thousand pages and of *Reports* of Congressional Committees there is literally no end). In April, 1948, Panikkar arrived in Nanking, which twenty years earlier had become the Capital of Nationalist China, and just a year later the Communist armies arrived at Pukow on the opposite bank of the Yangtse which is here three quarters of a mile broad. It was the considered opinion of the American military authorities that the Communists ("who after all were only guerillas") did not possess the technical ability to ferry their army across the Yangtse, but the day after he had received this comforting assurance Panikkar saw the residence of the Mayor being plundered by the local inhabitants. ("It was done in a civilised and orderly manner, old women being helped by younger people to carry off what they had collected"). The Kuomintang administration had disappeared, and the Communist army was being ferried across the river without opposition. Five months later, on October 1, 1949, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China was proclaimed in Peking.

When Panikkar arrived in China "the misery of the people was unbelievable . . . and all civic sense had disappeared." A few months later there occurred the crash of the Gold Yuan currency which had been introduced in a vain attempt to stave off final ruin. The main cause of the crash was that Chiang Kai-shek "tolerated large scale corruption among the people who surrounded him." His wife and H. H. Kung's wife were sisters and when an enormous store of prohibited goods was discovered in a godown in Shanghai controlled by H. H. Kung and his son David, Madam Chiang Kai-shek intervened, "personally and decisively," to prevent any action being taken.

It was from evils such as these that the Chinese people were delivered by the new government under Mao Tse-tung, a government which, as Panikkar says, is "run by men and women prepared to put their best into the service of the state." What impressed him most in the villages he visited in various parts of China was the new spirit at work among the people—the sense of freedom, of an immense release of energy and a desire to achieve things. Land reform had broken the chains and set the village free, and, in a striking phrase, he describes the mutual aid teams he saw in operation as "in fact, a collectivisation in miniature proceeding from the people and not imposed by the state."

Panikkar's admiration for the achievements of the men and women of New China is matched by his contempt for the behaviour of the Americans. In Nanking rumours were afloat of their scandalous conduct towards women. The American Embassy owned no less than 110 motor cars, all the more convenient houses were occupied of their admirals and generals

# HAR EAST

who were supposed to be advising the Kuomintang, and radio sets, refrigerators and other useful things imported without payment of customs duty reappeared on the market on a fairly large scale. When the Korean war broke out America's intervention in Formosa was a direct threat to China, but "even in this matter the Chinese behaved with exemplary patience and restraint." When MacArthur crossed the 38th parallel and marched to the Yalu boundary, Panikkar noted in his diary: "So America has knowingly elected for war, with Britain following"; and he described how, in the discussions at Lake Success "the Americans were determined to use the whip mercilessly and line up their friends to get China declared as aggressors."

In the chapter which describes his tour in the interior, Panikkar has written a most interesting account of the caves at Tunhuang used by Buddhist monks over 1400 years ago for retirement and meditation and embellished with paintings "which are among the supreme expressions of mural art." The authorities of New China were quick to realise the immense value of this great repository of ancient Chinese art and, after the neglect of seven centuries, Tunhuang is becoming once more the centre of a great artistic revival.

There is, alas, one criticism that must be made. More care should have been taken with the spelling of Chinese names. Tunhuang is spelled Tunghuang, the Emperor Kwang Hsu is disguised as Kang Hsu, the historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien as Sshumma Chin, the painter Hsu Pei-hung as Hsu Pei-meng. Western Peace is called An Si instead of Si An and—most deplorable of all—Ming Huang, the famous Emperor of the T'ang Dynasty, is called Huang Ming. But only a pedant would allow details such as these to interfere with his enjoyment of what is perhaps the best book about recent events in China that has yet been written.

J. T. PRATT

**China Phoenix** by PETER TOWNSEND. With an introduction by S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Vice-President of India. (*Jonathan Cape* 25s.)

There has been no shortage of books on the revolution in China and its effect on world affairs, but few westerners could write with the same authenticity as Mr. Townsend about the effect of it on the Chinese people.

He went to Kuomintang China in 1941 with the Friends' Ambulance Unit. He was later attached to the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives—the organisation, in which Rewi Alley played such a prominent part, that did so much to rouse western consciences about the plight of the people in China. Throughout the war the author lived and worked at the lowest levels of Chinese society, and unlike many westerners who chose to leave, he remained with the cooperatives after the advent of the Communist revolution, working for a time with the cadres in the villages. Mr. Townsend was thus able to see and feel the reaction of the peasantry to the great change from Nationalist despotic feudalism to efficient Chinese Communist control.

His chapters dealing with peasant existence under landlordism present a story of such appalling suffering and degradation that the surprise is not that the Communists were able to win the allegiance of such a vast population, but that the peasants did not rise long before. They were consistently forced into debt and made to pay with their crops, their furniture, even their daughters and wives. They were bled of their livelihood until they grovelled for roots to survive. They sold their children into

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beggary; they lived in bondage to the landlord. "Conditions such as these," says the author, "prepared a man for anything." The peasant "could accept humiliations which others could not tolerate. He could meet death with less concern because it was near to him. He could sicken and make no complaint; go hungry and expect no food."

Then came the advance of Mao Tse-tung's armies, and the tentacles of revolution began, slowly at first, to reach the countryside. With the arrival of the Communist cadres in the villages the peasants began to see things in a new—and initially in a cautious—light. The realisation began to dawn upon them that they were part of a social order; that they were not suffering individually but as a community. Townsend says that "the enormity of the oppression became greater when they discovered that they had been born to it, slept, married, hungered and died with it, and not they alone but peasants of whole countries." The revolution increased in pace and almost unconsciously this reawakening helped increase it. They hardly cared what the new regime would entail so long as the old order died—died quickly and sometimes violently.

Mr. Townsend's depiction of this period is not graphic and colourful, but the plodding pedestrian style of writing perhaps captures the grim determination of the people in an authentic fashion. Yet although this phase in China is far the most fascinating, the author does not end there. He describes the work of the cadres in the villages, how they fought to overcome the peasant's fear and suspicion, and eventually got the rudiments of land reform working. The book also puts America's part in China at that time into perspective, and the author makes the point that Chiang Kai-shek never lost a battle through the want of arms and equipment. It was the people who eventually beat him.

Although Peter Townsend is inclined to the left, he is non-Communist; but in any case political philosophies concern him no more than they concerned the peasant. It was the material effect of the new order on their lives which decided their support. No book so far has brought this home as clearly as *China Phoenix*.

WILLIAM TOOP

**The Japanese House and Garden** by TETSURO YOSHIDA  
(Tubingen: Ernst Wasmuth; London: Architectural Press 60s.)

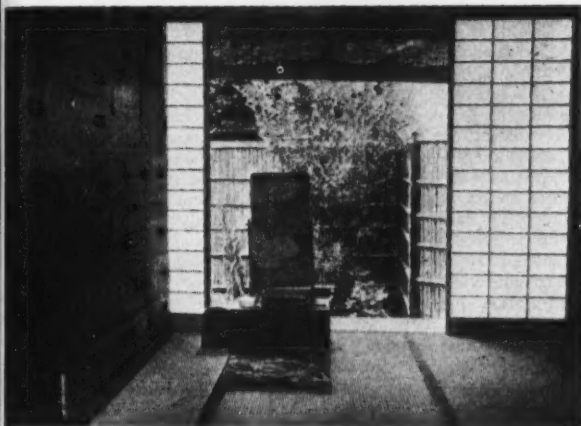
This is a very comprehensive, and at times technical account of the Japanese house, and the way in which it is built. Mr. Yoshida touches on the history, the general planning, interior design and decoration, constructional details, and so on.

Japanese building is modular—the basic unit of floor area being the *tatami* or mat, which is of a standard size (about 6 feet by 3 ft.); a room may be two mats in size, or fifteen. Again, the *shoji*, the sliding paper and glass partitions, and the *fusuma*, the coloured paper wood-framed sliding screens, are all of a standard size, and the result is that you never see a harassed pair of newly-weds in the local furniture shop, or the joiner's, worried to death whether something will fit or match. Nor does this standardisation of measures and basic units result in a dull uniformity. Only the unit itself is standard—the number of units that you employ, you can permute at will. But the immense advantages both in swiftness of construction, (I watched a house go up in three weeks, and this was not regarded as anything out of the ordinary) and in the facility of alteration, will be obvious.

There is also a discussion of the different types of wood used in house construction, and a final chapter takes in the garden, an integral part of the design of the whole.

As Mr. Yoshida argues, every possible provision is made to





Dressing room with a chest of drawers of kiri-wood and a dressing mirror which is covered with a curtain if not in use: Illustration from "The Japanese House and Garden" by Tetsuro Yoshida

facilitate a through draught of air during the hot summer months. There are even local variations in the locating of the more open sides of the house, according to the direction of the prevailing wind. I was reminded as I read this, of a house built in Kyoto in 1952, where the single second floor room could be opened completely on the south and east sides, and where there were small detachable panels in the north and west walls (the latter giving a complete panorama of the mountains across the valley). The result was that on a sultry summer evening, you could catch and benefit from the slightest whiff of a breeze.

In Japan, as in England, the weather is a frequent topic of conversation, and for every time you hear a complaint about the heat in summer, you are sure to hear one about the cold in winter. There, the Japanese have not been so successful: the only remedies are long woollen underwear, and a boiling hot bath every evening.

The illustrations—there are 250 photographs and detail drawings—are very well executed. But it is unfortunate that so many of the photographs are devoted to the Katsura Detached Palace, which, though it may be "the supreme example of Japanese architecture," is, after all, a palace, not a house. We might have profited more from some homely photographs of the average Japanese house, and from less emphasis on the show-piece.

G.B.

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### Fabulous Mogul by D. F. KARAKA (*Verschoyle*, 15s.)

In the recently released report of the States Reorganisation Commission it has been recommended that Hyderabad should yield its Marathi and Kanarese districts to Bombay and Karnataka (a proposed new state). A further recommendation adds that the state, in its truncated form, might be united with Andhra if, by a two thirds majority, the Legislature should so wish. It would seem probable, therefore, that the State of Hyderabad will soon cease to exist and that His Exalted Highness the Nizam will join the ever swelling ranks of ex-Sovereigns, to the dismay, no doubt, of old Empire men whose friend and supporter, like his father before him, he was.

And to Mr. Karaka's dismay too? It is difficult to tell. His culminating interview with the subject of this book, which reminded me of Mr. Beverley Nichols' interview with the late Mohammed Ali Jinnah recorded in his notorious *Verdict on India*, seems to have bedazzled him. Or perhaps he felt it to be his duty as an author to be bedazzled. For unlike Mr. Nichols, for whom the political situation in India in 1944 was summed up so completely by his host that he did not waste his time with any other leader, in Mr. Karaka's case no pearls of wisdom were forthcoming. He did his best, however, by concentrating at length and somewhat extravagantly in his subject's eyes, to convey an impression of "spiritual force."

No reader who has any familiarity with this author will expect him to have written a definitive biography. On the other hand his outburst of adolescent spleen directed at India's Prime Minister brought out by the same publisher some two years ago under the title *Nehru: The Lotus Eater from Kashmir* has little parallel here. His gifts of racy humour and narrative are well employed and keep the reader entertained.

The title is apt. Both the Nizam's wealth and the reverence accorded him are fabulous. He is worshipped, by his immediate entourage and by the uneducated majority in his state (in the southern part of which, incidentally, a strong Communist movement has established itself—the existence of and the reasons for which Mr. Karaka conveniently ignores). The author's descriptions of and comments on the various ceremonials connected with His Exalted Highness's wealth and power are lucid and amusing. But, as usual, he cannot resist trying to be serious and out trot the old targets, Nehru and Mountbatten (readers should remember that passages from this book first appeared in one of Lord Beaverbrook's newspapers!). Paradoxically, some of his criticisms are justified, particularly those relating to the military invasion of Hyderabad. But there is no evidence that he has studied the official *White Paper* on this action, and sarcasm is no substitute, especially as the author's sense of humour deserts him at these moments. Moral indignation is not Mr. Karaka's *metier*.

IAN LE MAISTRE

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

**A**DULT education is an important part of the socio-economic reconstruction in Asia today. The different schemes of economic development, like increasing food production, developing hydro-electric power and industrial expansion, all depend on their success on the availability of trained personnel. In India, economic development is progressing side by side, with the development of political, social and cultural democracy. The problem of education therefore assumes a special significance. Adult education in India has a wider purpose and significance than the term suggests. In fact "social education" is the word for the tremendous experiment that is now being carried out there. A very interesting, indeed inspiring, account of this work is given by K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Secretary to the

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Government of India, in **Fundamental and Adult Education**, a quarterly publication of the UNESCO.

Adult education in India aims at much more than mere literacy—the ability to read, or to put a signature in place of the more authentic thumb impression. In its broad sense it aims to enrich the lives of the people; to enable the common people (in Dr. Saiyidain's words) "to enter into the kingdom of the mind and the riches of culture . . . If people are taught to read without at the same time developing their literary taste or judgement, if they acquire the habit of reading the papers or listening to political speeches without also cultivating the habit of critical analysis" says Dr. Saiyidain, "they will be at the mercy of every advertising quack—commercial, medical, political or religious." Adult education therefore has come to include literacy, health education, the discussion of social and civic problems, the organisation of recreational and cultural activities and training in simple crafts and productive work.

Besides this qualitative shift in emphasis in adult education in India, quantitatively it has developed from minor local operations to a large-scale effort at the national level. A network of educational centres are being set up all over the country to provide social education at various levels and thousands of teachers, voluntary workers, social organisations, local bodies and educational institutions are engaged in this work. Besides, a number of "community centres" are being set up to cater to the need for a more comprehensive type of social education and which are intended to become the focus for the cultural and social life of the local community. These centres have libraries, clubs and recreational facilities. In addition a large number of "Janta Colleges" (or People's Colleges) are being established to provide education for village leadership.

What has been done so far, however, has been only the preliminary step in India's reconstruction and the ultimate success of the government's plans will depend on the quality and availability of teaching personnel and the availability of the necessary resources. It is in the matter of resources and teachers that adult education work in Malaya is handicapped. But a novel experiment has been started there to meet the deficiency. It is to teach illiterates to read by radio. It was started last year by Radio Malaya and after many initial setbacks is now working satisfactorily. The main part of the radio scheme is an eight-week course in about 45 half-hour broadcasts. The whole course is completed in the interval between the rice-planting and the harvest seasons. An account of this unique method is given in the same UNESCO booklet. According to the article, about half the adult Malays in the Federation are illiterate.

**Manas**, the Californian weekly which looks at world problems from a philosophical angle, devoted considerable space in a recent issue to an analysis of the new moral forces working in India, of which Vinoba Bhave is the symbol and the central spirit. The magazine noted the originality of Bhave's Sarvodaya Movement which aims to bring about a just social order where exploitation, poverty and economic inequality are absent and commented that "for the West, a study of what is going on in India may bring a new appreciation of the power of outspoken idealism; it may open the way to a fresh consideration of the nature of man and the quality of the forces which are able to move him into action." The paper added: "It is certainly true that the alternative to communism and Statism which the Sarvodayists see in their dream of a decentralised, non-violent society has not the slightest possibility of being realised unless hitherto unrecognised moral resources can be tapped in human beings."

Masao Nitani, resident director and London manager of the Fuji Bank, writing on "Japan's Economic Problem," in the October issue of **The Banker** says that "Japan today . . . is far more dependent on Western trade than it was before the War . . ." He refers to the fact, that "China, which in 1934-6 took 18 per cent. of Japan's exports and supplied 11 per cent. of its imports, in 1954 took a mere 1.2 per cent. of exports, and supplied 1.7 per cent. of imports" and adds that "the decline in trade with Korea and Formosa was only slightly less marked." He stresses the fact that Japan, in addition to its essential imports of foodstuffs and raw materials "is dependent on overseas sources for modern capital goods and industrial techniques" (a theme which he developed in the article "Japan as a British Market" published in the August issue of **EASTERN WORLD**).

On the problem of Japan's role in the industrialisation of other

# EASTERN WORLD

## INDEX TO VOL. IX (1955)

This index is restricted to articles and editorials only, and does not include book reviews or items mentioned in the various features such as "From All Quarters," "London Notebook" and "Trade, Finance and Industrial Notes"

### AFGHANISTAN

- THE PROBLEM OF PAKHTUNISTAN, by H. E. Dr. Najib-Ullah (January, p.25).  
STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER SARDAR MOHAMMED DAOUD (January, p.26).  
AFGHANISTAN (Letter), by Habibullah Z. Tarzi (January, p.28).  
PROBLEM OF PAKHTUNISTAN (Letter), by H. K. Burki (February, p.8).  
PAKHTUNISTAN OR NOT? by J. W. T. Cooper (June, p.12).  
PAKHTUNISTAN (December, p.12).

### AUSTRALIA and ASIA

- EDITORIAL (November, p.12).  
AUSTRALIAN TRADE MISSION TO S.E. ASIA, by W. H. Hudspeth (February, p.50).  
AUSTRALIAN POLICY IN S.E. ASIA, by Alan Barcan (April, p.20).  
WILL AUSTRALIA DRAW NEARER TO ASIA? by Charles Meeking (June, p.19).  
AUSTRALIAN POLICY TOWARDS S.E. ASIA, by Russell H. Barrett (August, p.20).  
AUSTRALIA AND MALAYA, by Alan Barcan (September, p.19).  
AUSTRALIA NEEDS POLICY ON ASIA, by Charles Meeking (October, p.21).  
ISSUES IN AUSTRALIAN ELECTION, by Charles Meeking (December, p.17).

### BURMA

- EDITORIALS (July, p.12; December, p.12).  
BURMESE CULTURE AND THE WEST, by Ethel Mannin (January, p.39).  
BURMA DEVELOPS PORT OF RANGOON (June, p.44).  
THE BURMA PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY (June, p.46).  
GROWTH OF SINO-BURMESE TRADE, by a Peking Correspondent (October, p.58).

### CAMBODIA

- EDITORIAL (October, p.12).  
CAMBODIA AND KING NORODOM, by the Bangkok Correspondent (March, p.24).  
CAMBODIAN PROSPECTS, by David Ingber (December, p.15).

### CEYLON

- NEW YEAR CUSTOMS IN CEYLON, by S. V. O. Somanader (February, p.41).  
RICE IN CEYLON, by Gamini Navaratne (February, p.48).  
PUPPETRY IN CEYLON, by J. Tilakasiri (March, p.39).  
CEYLON'S SEVEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE, by Gamini Navaratne (April, p.22).  
CEYLON TO DROP ENGLISH (April, p.23).  
LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN CEYLON, by T. L. Green (May, p.38).

- CEYLON-RUSSIA TRADE, by a Colombo Correspondent (May, p.52).  
CEYLON'S PUBLIC SERVANTS REBEL, by Gamini Navaratne (July, p.19).  
POPULATION AND POVERTY, by Viscount Soulbury (August, p.24).  
CEYLON'S NEW BUDGET, by Gamini Navaratne (August, p.56).  
INDO-CEYLON DEADLOCK, by a Colombo Correspondent (September, p.21).  
CEYLON'S SIX YEAR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, by a Colombo Correspondent (September, p.58).  
CEYLON'S AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS, by F. D. Bingham (October, p.52).  
DEVELOPMENT OF CEYLON'S PORTS, by Gamini Navaratne (October, p.53).  
THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN CEYLON, by Eustace Gunawardena (November, p.19).  
CEYLON-EUROPE TRADE, by Gamini Navaratne (November, p.47).  
THE SWABASHA MOVEMENT, by Edgar Fernando (December, p.18).

### CHINA (including Hong Kong)

- EDITORIALS (January, p.7; March, p.11; May, p.12; June, p.12; July, p.11; December, p.11).  
CHINA, RUSSIA AGREE ON SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, by Wilfred Ryder (February, p.17).  
A GENERAL REVIEW OF HONG KONG, by Lewis Gen (February, p.18).  
BRITAIN'S TRADE WITH CHINA, by A. James (February, p.46).  
CHINA'S NEW DAM AT FUTZELING, by Hsimen Lu-sha (February, p.53).  
KOREA, CHINA AND FORMOSA, by Sir John Pratt (March, p.16).  
THE TWO CHINAS AND THE OVERSEAS CHINESE, by Han Suyin (March, p.19).  
THE VATICAN AND ITS TIES WITH CHINESE CATHOLICS, by Alvise Scarfoglio (March, p.38).  
THE YUNGLI COMPANY: PIONEER OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN CHINA, by Hou Teh-lang (March, p.49).  
THE INNER MONGOLIAN AUTONOMOUS REGION, by O. Edmund Clubb (April, p.15).  
SINO-BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS, by Tsao Chung-shu (April, p.51).  
CONTRIBUTIONS OF CHINA TO FRENCH CIVILIZATION, by Thomas E. Ennis (May, p.35).  
U.K. TRADE WITH CHINA, by A. James (May, p.40).  
A RELIGIOUS CEREMONY, by Alvise Scarfoglio (June, p.20).  
CHINA'S FOREIGN TRADE, by A. James (June, p.43).  
THE LIU-HSUEH MOVEMENT, by Lee Shu-Ching (July, p.33; August, p.44).  
THE BUILDER OF THE GREAT WALL, by James H. Jacques (July, p.35).  
CHINA'S QUALITY CONTROL OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS (July, p.50).



CHINESE HANDICRAFTS FOR EXPORT, by a Peking Correspondent (August, p.39).  
 CHINA'S INFLUENCE ON MEISSEN, by D. Groger (August, p.39).  
 A QUESTION OF FACE, by J. W. T. Cooper (September, p.13).  
 CONTRASTS IN INDIAN AND CHINESE BANKING, by a Banking Correspondent (September, p.35).  
 LEGGE'S TRANSLATION OF MENCIUS, by Lewis Gen (September, p.36).  
 CHINA'S CONSTITUTION, by Lewis Gen (October, p.16).  
 IS CHINA EXPANSIONIST? by Alex Josey (October, p.18).  
 TAMING THE YELLOW RIVER, by Li Fu-tu (November, p.23).  
 ITALY AND CHINA TRADE, by Alvise Scarfoglio (November, p.45).  
 POINTS OF TENSION, by J. W. T. Cooper (December, p.13).

## INDIA

EDITORIALS (January, p.9; August, p.11; October, p.11).  
 HINDUISM AND COMMUNISM: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE? by Taya Zinkin (January, p.16).  
 SOME INDIAN PROBLEMS, by P. C. Sen (February, p.12).  
 THE VATICAN AND INDIA TODAY, by Alvise Scarfoglio (February, p.23).  
 HOW THE INDIANS LAUGH, by A. M. Abraham (February, p.38).  
 A CRISIS IN INDIA'S FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN, by K. M. Purkayastha (February, p.42).  
 BRITISH MELTING FURNACES FOR INDIA (February, p.45).  
 INDUSTRIAL CREDIT AND INVESTMENT CORPORATION OF INDIA (February, p.47).  
 COMMUNITY PROGRAMME IN RURAL INDIA (February, p.51).  
 INDIA'S LARGEST OIL REFINERY (February, p.51).  
 SHIVITE LAKHA MANDAL, by Pauline Humphrey (February, p.42).  
 INDIA'S LEAD IN SOILLESS CULTIVATION, by J. W. E. H. Sholto Douglas (May, p.42).  
 MR. BIRLA ON INDIA'S STEEL INDUSTRY (May, p.52).  
 NEHRU IN ROME, by Alvise Scarfoglio (July, p.13).  
 GANDHI, NEHRU AND AFTER, by Stanley Alderson (July, p.15).  
 INDIA'S AMBITIOUS 2ND FIVE YEAR PLAN, by T. V. R'Chandran (July, p.39).  
 INDIA'S RAILWAYS: REHABILITATION OR DEVELOPMENT, by a Calcutta Correspondent (July, p.46).  
 INDIA'S SIXTH MAJOR PORT, by M. Ganapati (July, p.52).  
 POLITICAL TRENDS IN INDIA, by M. N. Chatterji (August, p.16).  
 YOGA GOES WEST, by K. M. Talgeri (August, p.42).  
 INDO-CEYLON DEADLOCK, by a Colombo Correspondent (September, p.21).  
 CONTRASTS IN INDIAN AND CHINESE BANKING, by a Banking Correspondent (September, p.35).  
 VOLUNTARY WORK CAMPS IN INDIA, by Hans Peter Muller (September, p.39).  
 INDIAN SHIPPING, by S. D. Kumar (September, p.44).  
 SERVICE INEQUALITIES IN INDIA, by C. V. Gopalakrishna (October, p.19).  
 SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA, by Rhona Ghate (October, p.25).  
 BELGO-INDIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS, by Robert Desprechins (October, p.51).  
 REORGANISATION OF INDIAN STATES (November, p.21).  
 ELECTIONS IN INDIA A THOUSAND YEARS AGO, by S. N. Vyas (November, p.22).

EARLY INDO-IRANIAN RELATIONS, by Radha Kumud Mookerji (November, p.37).  
 FRIEDRICH MAX MULLER, by Mahesh Kumar Moondhra (November, p.38).  
 THE FABLE GOES ROUND by Raja Rao (December, p.37).  
 THE PRINCIPLES AND OUTLINES OF INDIA'S SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN, by K. P. Ghosh (December, p.44).

## INDONESIA

EDITORIALS (April, p.12; August, p.12; June, p.11; November, p.12).  
 MODERN INDONESIAN LITERATURE, by A. Brotherton (February, p.35).  
 CONFLICTS OF POWER IN INDONESIA, by Justus M. van der Kroef (April, p.24).  
 THE JUNGSCHLAAGER TRIAL IN INDONESIA, by an Indonesian Correspondent (July, p.17).  
 REHABILITATION CENTRE FOR ASIAN DISABLED, by a Special Correspondent (July, p.37).  
 INDONESIA'S TEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE AND STRUGGLE, by H. E. Prof. R. Supomo (August, p.26).  
 THE DUTCH ATTITUDE IN THE JUNGSCHLAAGER CASE, by Roy Sherwood (August, p.27).  
 INDONESIA'S FIRST NATIONAL ELECTION, by Charles Meeking (September, p.18).  
 THE PATTERN OF INDONESIAN CULTURE, by Raden Moerdowo (December, p.32).

## JAPAN

EDITORIALS (January, p.8; October, p.11; December, p.11).  
 THE JAPANESE TEXTILE INDUSTRY, by J. Greenhalgh (January, p.45).  
 MR. YOSHIDA STEPS DOWN, by the Tokyo Correspondent (February, p.20).  
 GATT AND JAPAN, by J. H. Pentman (February, p.49).  
 CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES IN JAPAN, by the Tokyo Correspondent (March, p.22).  
 WORLD BANK ON JAPAN'S AGRICULTURE (March, p.51).  
 JAPAN'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SCANDINAVIA, by the Tokyo Correspondent (March, p.54).  
 CONSERVATIVE JAPAN, by the Tokyo Correspondent (April, p.18).  
 JAPANESE-BRITISH TRADE DISCUSSIONS (April, p.19).  
 SCANDINAVIAN FIRMS EXPORT "KNOW-HOW" TO JAPAN (April, p.45).  
 JAPAN AND ASIA, by the Tokyo Correspondent (June, p.21).  
 ELECTRIFICATION OF JAPAN'S AGRICULTURE (June, p.48).  
 THE PROBLEM OF U.S. BASES IN JAPAN, by a Special Correspondent (July, p.23).  
 ATOMIC ENERGY IN JAPAN, by the Tokyo Correspondent (August, p.18).  
 THE JAPANESE AND SUN YAT-SEN, by Sir John Pratt (August, p.34).  
 JAPAN AS A BRITISH MARKET, by Masao Nitani (August, p.48).  
 THE JAPAN MONOPOLY CORPORATION AND TOBACCO (September, p.56).  
 RECESS IN TOKYO, by the Tokyo Correspondent (October, p.15).  
 THE AZUMA KABUKI, by Geoffrey Bownas (October, p.35).  
 JAPAN FADES FROM THE HEADLINES, by the Tokyo Correspondent (November, p.18).  
 JAPAN'S COTTON MILL GIRLS, by Geoffrey Bownas (November, p.25).



THE AWAKENING OF JAPAN FIFTY YEARS AGO, by Chushichi Tsuzuki (December, p.19).  
JAPAN IN THE LITERATURE OF ENGLAND, by Thomas E Ennis (December, p.35).

#### KASHMIR

THE PEOPLE OF THE RIVER, by Yvonne Hull (April, p.40).  
SOME OLD ACCOUNTS OF KASHMIR, by V. S. Naravane (June, p.39).  
LEAN DAYS FOR GULMARG, by Bernard Llewellyn (July, p.20).  
FESTIVALS OF KASHMIR, by Asha Dhar (November, p.39).

#### KOREA

EDITORIALS (September, p.11).  
KOREA, CHINA AND FORMOSA, by Sir John Pratt (March, p.16).  
UNKRA—A SUCCESS (May, p.46).

#### MALAYA (including Singapore and Borneo)

EDITORIALS (March, p.12; May, p.11; October, p.11).  
SHOOTING WAR IN MALAYA CONTINUES, by Paul S. Markandan (January, p.17).  
DEADLOCK IN MALAYA, by Ian Page (February, p.13).  
THE TWO CHINAS AND THE OVERSEAS CHINESE, by Han Suyin (March, p.19).  
THE ALLIANCE AND THE MINORITIES IN MALAYA, by Tan Siew Sin (March, p.21).  
SEMAI SENOI DANCERS, by Douglas C. Pike (April, p.39).  
DENMARK'S TRADE WITH MALAYA, by A. E. W. Godesen (May, p.43).  
FIRE IN THE LONG HOUSE, by Tom Harrison (June, p.37).  
TROUBLE IN SINGAPORE, by Alex Josey (July, p.21).  
THE WORLD BANK REPORT ON MALAYAN DEVELOPMENT (August, p.3; September, p.50).  
THE PORT OF SINGAPORE, by a Special Correspondent (August, p.54).  
AUSTRALIA AND MALAYA, by Alan Barcan (September, p.19).  
MALAYA AFTER THE ELECTIONS, by Alex Josey (September, p.23).  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SARAWAK, by E. H. Rawlings (September, p.41).

#### MONGOLIA

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, by O. Edmund Clubb (September, p.15).

#### PACIFIC

A LINGUISTIC PROBLEM IN TRUST TERRITORY, by A. French (January, p.21).  
PORT OF SUVA TO BE DEVELOPED, by a Special Correspondent (May, p.48).  
MINING AND MINERAL RESOURCES IN FIJI (May, p.54).  
A SOUTH PACIFIC FEDERATION? by a Fiji Correspondent (August, p.23).  
NEW ZEALAND'S DEPENDENCIES, by N. E. Coad (September, p.21).  
"CARGO CULT" IN NEW GUINEA, by K. D. Gott (October, p.20).  
SEPIC ART IN THE BASLE MUSEUM, by P. Hinderling (October, p.37).

#### PAKISTAN

EDITORIALS (July, p.12; September, p.12; November, p.11).  
THE PROBLEM OF PAKHTUNISTAN, by H.E. Dr. Najib-Ullah (January, p.25).  
PAKISTAN FACES THE FACTS, by Bernard Llewellyn (January, p.26).  
LAHORE AWAITS THE FUTURE, by H. K. Burki (January, p.41).  
U.K. EXPORTS TO PAKISTAN, by A. James (January, p.47).  
PAKISTAN GOES INDUSTRIAL, by Neil P. Ruzic (March, p.44).  
DEVELOPMENT OF KARACHI PORT, by a Karachi Correspondent (March, p.46).  
PESHAWAR MUSEUM, by Ali Nasir Zaidi (April, p.43).  
PAKISTAN TOWARDS DEMOCRACY, by P. C. Sen (May, p.18).  
THE KOTRI BARRAGE, by James W. Hayes (May, p.44).  
PAKHTUNISTAN OR NOT? by J. W. T. Cooper (June, p.12).  
THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNING PAKISTAN, by Z. H. Zoberi (June, p.23).  
THE SUI PIPELINE, by a Karachi Correspondent (July, p.42).  
MUHAMED IQBAL, by Romila Thapar (August, p.35).  
BANKING IN PAKISTAN, by a Karachi Correspondent (September, p.42).  
PAKISTAN'S TRADE WITH BELGIUM, by A. Rab (October, p.50).

#### PHILIPPINES

HAS THE MANILA TREATY ANY VALUE? by W. N. Warbey, M.P. (January, p.11).  
PHILIPPINES COMMUNITY SCHOOL, by A. N. Gillett (January, p.40).  
THE PHILIPPINES IN THE NEW ASIA, by H.E. Leon Maria Guerrero (May, p.20).

#### THAILAND

EDITORIALS (July, p.12).  
CULTURAL TRENDS IN THAILAND TODAY, by the Bangkok Correspondent (January, p.38).  
THE REAL KING MONGKUT OF SIAM, by Alexander B. Griswold (March, p.41; April, p.37).  
THE ROLE OF BUDDHISM IN MODERN THAILAND, by the Bangkok Correspondent (May, p.34).  
OLD CHINA SURVIVES IN THAILAND, by the Bangkok Correspondent (September, p.37).  
PIBUL'S DEMOCRACY, by J. W. T. Cooper (October, p.13).  
THE DANCE DRAMA OF THAILAND, by Francis Story (November, p.40).

#### U.S.S.R. AND ASIA

EDITORIALS (November, p.12; December, p.12).  
SOVIET AID TO ASIA, by Wilfred Ryder (January, p.44).  
CHINA, RUSSIA AGREE ON SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, by Wilfred Ryder (February, p.17).  
CEYLON-RUSSIA TRADE, by a Colombo Correspondent (May, p.52).

#### UNITED KINGDOM AND ASIA

U.K. EXPORTS TO PAKISTAN, by A. James (January, p.47).  
WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST, by Harold Davies, M.P. (February, p.9).  
BRITAIN'S TRADE WITH CHINA, by A. James (February, p.46).

SINO-BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS, by Tsao Chung-shu (April, p.51).

U.K. TRADE WITH CHINA, by A. James (May, p.40).

BRITISH CHEMICAL PLANT FOR THE EAST, by S. C. M. Salter (July, p.40).

SCOTTISH INDUSTRIES AND ASIA, by a Glasgow Correspondent (November, p.42).

#### VIET NAM (South and North)

EDITORIALS (April, p.11; June, p.12; July, p.13; September, p.12).

COMMUNISM'S SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ALLIANCE, by Richard L. Butwell (January, p.12).

ASIAN DIPLOMATS IN LONDON—NGUYEN KHAC VE (January, p.19).

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM (II), by Le Thanh Khoi (January, p.20).

TOWARDS A POLICY IN INDO-CHINA, by Brian Crozier (February, p.15).

THE PLIGHT OF SOUTH VIET NAM, by a Special Correspondent (May, p.17).

THE RISE AND FALL OF FRANCE IN INDO-CHINA, by Thomas E. Ennis (June, p.22).

LOOKING TO THE EAST, by J. W. T. Cooper (August, p.12).

THE THAI-MEO REGION OF TONKIN (October, p.23).

WILL HO CHI MINH UNITE VIET NAM? by Alex Josey (November, p.15).

MINORITIES UNDER THE VIET MINH (November, p.17).

#### U.S.A. and ASIA

EDITORIALS (June, p.12).

ASIA IN WASHINGTON, by David C. Williams (January, p.10; February, p.10; March, p.15; April, p.14; May, p.13; June, p.14; July, p.14; August, p.14; September, p.14; October, p.14; November, p.13; December, p.14).

MISCONCEPTIONS IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, by J. W. T. Cooper (March, p.37).

THE AMERICAN MOOD, by Ralph Friedman (June, p.15).

THE PROBLEM OF U.S. BASES IN JAPAN, by a Special Correspondent (July, p.23).

THIS AMERICAN AID TO ASIA, by P. C. Sen (August, p.47).

#### ASIA IN GENERAL (Political)

EDITORIALS (January, p.7; February, p.7; March, p.12; April, p.11; May, p.11; July, p.11; September, p.11).

HAS THE MANILA TREATY ANY VALUE? by William Warbey, M.P. (January, p.11).

COMMUNISM'S SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ALLIANCE, by Richard L. Butwell (January, p.12).

THE FUTURE OF BRITAIN'S ASIAN COLONIES, by R. W. Sorensen, M.P. (January, p.14).

HINDUISM AND COMMUNISM: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE? by Taya Zinkin (January, p.16).

LOOKING BACK AT BANDUNG, by Alex Josey (June, p.17).

GOVERNMENT v. OPPOSITION, by Lord Ogmore (June p.26).

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE FUTURE, by Lord Ogmore (August, p.15).

SCIENCE AND H-BOMB TESTS, by an Asian Observer (August, p.19).

BANDUNG AT THE U.N., by J. W. T. Cooper (November, p.14).

#### ASIA IN GENERAL (Cultural, Sociological)

HEALTH PROBLEMS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA, by James S. McKenzie Pollock (January, p.23).

ISLAM AND COMMUNISM, by M. S. Srinivasan (February, p.24).

REHABILITATION CENTRE FOR ASIAN DISABLED, by a Special Correspondent (July, p.37).

POPULATION AND POVERTY, by Viscount Soulbury (August, p.24).

SOME BOOKS IN ENGLISH BY WOMEN OF S.E. ASIA, by E. Pauline Quigly (August, p.36).

WHAT IS BUDDHISM? by U Nu (August, p.41).

#### EUROPE AND ASIA

DENMARK'S TRADE WITH ASIA (March, p.52).

NORWAY'S PULP AND PAPER INDUSTRY AND S.E. ASIA (March, p.52).

FINLAND'S TRADE WITH ASIAN COUNTRIES (March, p.52).

SWEDEN'S TRADE WITH S.E. ASIA, THE FAR EAST AND THE PACIFIC (March, p.52).

SWEDEN'S ASSISTANCE TO UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES (March, p.52).

SCANDINAVIAN FIRMS EXPORT "KNOW-HOW" TO JAPAN (April, p.45).

TRADE BETWEEN FINLAND AND ASIA, by Ake Londen (April, p.46).

ASIA AT THE LEIPZIG FAIR (April, p.53).

NEHRU IN ROME, by Alvise Scarfoglio (July, p.13).

ZEISS INSTRUMENTS FOR ASIA (August, p.52).

GERMANY PREPARES HER ASIA POLICY, by a Special Correspondent (October, p.24).

SWITZERLAND'S TRADE WITH ASIA, by a Zurich Correspondent (October, p.41).

SWITZERLAND'S INDUSTRIES AND THE EAST, by H. Buchmann (October, p.43).

EASTERN ART IN ZURICH, by Johannes Itten (December, p.31).

#### ASIA IN GENERAL (Economic)

ECAFE MEETING IN HONG KONG (February, p.52).

ASIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION, by T. H. Handa (April, p.44).

ASIA AND OFFICE MECHANISATION, by a Special Correspondent (April, p.47).

ASIA AT THE LEIPZIG FAIR (April, p.53).

UNDERMINING EAST-WEST TRADE, by J. W. T. Cooper (May, p.14).

PROCESSES AND PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIALISATION, by K. P. Ghosh (May, p.16).

SOME LESSONS OF THE LEIPZIG FAIR FOR THE EAST, by Edgar P. Young (May, p.56).

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ASIA, by the Tokyo Correspondent (June, p.42).

ASIA'S PAPER INDUSTRY (July, p.48).

TOURISM CAN HELP ASIA, by James Maxwell (October, p.38).

THE FUTURE OF NATURAL RUBBER, by a Special Correspondent (November, p.44).

COLOMBO PLAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SCHEME, (November, p.46).

THE WORLD BANK'S WORK IN ASIA, by Joseph Rucinski (December, p.41).

Asian countries Mr. Nitani refers to Japan's ability to supply "suitable capital goods at reasonable prices," and adds that "Moreover, there is a possible scope for manufacture of certain machinery in Japan under licence from Western countries." The article explains that Japan's external recovery is precariously based, and that exports in April, 1955, were only just over half as large as in 1934-6, and that the exports comprised only 2.2 per cent. of the world trade—against 3.7 per cent. before the war. He stresses "Japan's fundamental need to increase its sterling trade in order to reduce its present high dependence on the United States and other dollar countries" and comments that "it is difficult to believe that closer economic ties with Japan would not in the long run involve a strengthening in the sterling area itself."

## Eastern Art in Zurich

By Johannes Itten

(Director of the Rietberg Museum, Zurich)

THE Rietberg Museum of the City of Zurich, Switzerland, containing the most remarkable part of the world-famous Baron E. von der Heydt Collection, was opened to the public on May 24, 1952. Baron von der Heydt has been a life-long collector, in a true universalist spirit, of Hindu, Chinese, Oceanic, early-American and African objets d'art, and also of Swiss folk masks. His collection of more than 2,000 showpieces is not displayed according to ethnographical or evolutionary viewpoints—the evaluation of the individual exhibits has always been a purely artistic one. In addition to the Von der Heydt collection several guest exhibits from Zurich municipal collections are on display.

The Hindu and Chinese sections of the Rietberg Museum contain numerous objects of unique interest. The Hindu art is of an exclusively symbolic-religious kind, and Indians maintain that it can only be fully understood by those who are familiar with the Hindu art of dance. Its formal diversity is not very great, but its rhythmic move-



*Dancing Krishna. Bronze, 16th Cent., South India*



*Kneeling Camel. Terracotta, T'ang Period, 618-906*

ments and its well proportioned, sculptural force of moulding can be fully appreciated by Europeans.

The main exhibits of the Hindu section are: a bronze statue from South India showing the dancing Shiva and Kali; a beautiful relief from Rajputana, relating to the Jaina cult; two big Uma figurines of the pre-Khmer era (7th to 9th century); two sitting Shivas of the Champas in East India.

The Chinese group in which a much greater wealth of forms prevails than in the Hindu one, contains several beautiful steles of the Wei era (6th century), three big stone animals of the T'ang and Sung periods (7th to 10th, and 12th to 14th centuries) as well as very remarkable tomb slabs of the Han era (3rd century). The Chinese section, which also includes several beautiful paintings, is said to be the biggest and most important of its kind in Europe.

The Rietberg Museum is located at the Villa Wesendonck, a mansion built between 1855 and 1857 by the Zurich architect Zeugherr who modelled it after the Villa Albani in Rome. Herr and Frau Wesendonck were famous hosts to prominent visitors, and their friendship with one of their illustrious guests, Richard Wagner, played a big part in Europe's musical and cultural history.



## THE PATTERN OF INDONESIAN CULTURE

By

**Raden Moerdowo**



*Orchestra and dancers. A relief from one of the lower galleries of the famous temple of Borobudur which illustrates the fine sculpture of the Hindu-Javanese period*

**T**HE geography, history, religion and the rise of nationalism are all important for the part they play in influencing the pattern of culture in Indonesia. These factors are, indeed, the warp and weft of that fabric of culture which stretches and adapts itself—now this way—now that—to the various stresses and strains which weave a group of peoples into an independent nation.

Indonesia is the largest group of islands in the world. It includes from West to East, Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Bali, Lombok, Sumba, Sumbawa, Sulawesi, Flores, Timor, Moluccas, Halmaheira and Irian (West New Guinea—which is now still occupied by the Dutch), as well as a host of other smaller islands. Sprawled across the Equator and extending for well over 3,000 miles between the continents of Asia and Australia, there has been space and opportunity for individual development and quasi-isolation between the islands, yet at the same time, where movements and influences have been sufficiently powerful, islands, far apart in distance, have been welded close in culture and loyalty.

Recent developments in Indonesian culture can only be understood against the historical background of the country. Down through the centuries, Indonesia has been subjected to many cultural influences. There is evidence of pre-history in the remains of skeletons of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* and *Meganthropus Palaeo Javanicus* which have been found, together with their stone chisels and hunting implements. Archeologists have traced two waves of immigrants in the Neolithic Age coming from what are now known as Burma, Cambodia and Siam. They may have originated in South Yunnan. The first wave is known as the Proto-Malayan race, and the second as the Deutero-Malayan race. Both are of the Austronesian race which extended from Madagascar to the islands of Formosa.

The Proto-Malayans were pushed inland by the Deutero-Malayans to the forests and mountains. Today their descendants are the Dajak tribes in Kalimantan, the Toradjas in Sulawesi and the Mentawaiers in Mentawai. The descendants of the Deutero-Malayans settled in the coastal areas and were influenced by Hindu, Islamic and Western cultures. They include the Javanese, Sumatrans, Sundanese, Balinese and the coastal inhabitants of Kalimantan, Sulawesi and the Moluccas.

Dr. Raden Moerdowo is Cultural Attache to the Indonesian Embassy in London.

When Indian traders and Chinese merchants came to Indonesia, they found a population which already had a high degree of civilisation. They knew the system of wet rice cultivation, the uses of copper and iron, measurement, navigation, astronomy, the art of sailing and had a form of democratic government.

In the fourth century, the Hindus came to Indonesia, probably at first as traders. Later, members of the higher classes followed: scholars, artists, philosophers, Brahmans and Kshatriyas who spread their own culture and learning. There was inter-marriage between Hindus and Indonesians, and gradually Hindu-Indonesian kingdoms evolved. Sriwidjaja in Sumatra and Mataram in Central Java saw the flowering of Hinduism and Buddhism.

In Greek and Roman culture, the urge for artistic creation sprang from that sense of spiritual adventure which sought Nature's truth and beauty; but great periods of art are also born of the mystical force of the great organised religions—Christianity in Europe, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism in the East.

In this period, the well-known temples of Borobudur and Prambanan were built. The Borobudur, dedicated to the Buddha Gautama, was built in a stupa shape on a hill and was probably used as a shrine for relics of Buddha. Today it is considered one of the major achievements of Buddhist architecture.

The epic stories of Ramayana and Mahabharata became incorporated in the religion and gave a wealth of background to Hindu-Indonesian Art. The temple Prambanan, dedicated to Siva, is a monument of human effort. The temple, which is 132 feet high, is enriched by figures and ornaments of great beauty. The courtyard walls are covered with bas-reliefs depicting episodes from legendary scenes of the Ramayana and Kresnayana.

For unknown reasons, perhaps because of volcanic eruptions of the Merapi, or perhaps because of epidemics, the centre of Hindu-Indonesian culture moved from Central Java to East Java in 915. This East-Java period (915-1360) became known as the Golden Age of Hindu-Javanese literature.

Bharatajuda, Arjunawihana and Smaradhadana were written in Kawi by Kediri poets, while Mpu Prapanca sang of the great period of Majapahit, under the rule of King Hayam Wuruk in the Negarakertagama. Many temples (chandis) were built, the most famous being

the Chandi Panataran and Chandi Singosari. The chandis were used as places of worship and as mausoleums for the Hindu Javanese Kings. Very often the predominant statue in the Chandi was carved in the image of the dead king. In Belahan is an image of Erlangga, Monarch of the East Javanese kingdom Janggala and Kediri. He is represented as a Wisnu riding on his favourite mount—the Garuda bird.

Although Hindu elements in art and philosophy were absorbed by the Indonesians to enrich their own culture, temples in East Java show reliefs which are unknown in Hindu temples in India. These reliefs are carved flat like wayang figures, in a style not to be found in India. The wayang shadow play is an Indonesian creation enriched with Hindu elements. The repertoire of the wayang shadow plays and of the Javanese and Balinese dances comes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata mythology and embodies local themes, as for example, the Pandji cycle, the Calonarang legend in Bali and the Lutung Kasarung story from Sunda. The eternal struggle between good and evil is the main theme of the wayang theatre and dance drama. The Kshatriyas, as the symbols of good, have the same ideals as the knights in the mediaeval tales of chivalry.

From the temple ornaments, the wayang figures, the dances and the gamelan orchestra, one can see that the Indonesian spirit was not insular but was susceptible to foreign influences and that the Indonesian people have been disposed to show tolerance and the capacity to adapt foreign cultural elements in order to enrich their own culture and create an art which has its own beauty and splendour.

In the thirteenth century, trade again opened the islands to further foreign penetration with the arrival of Moslem traders from Gujerat (India). Islam first gained a following in the coastal districts and from there spread inland, attracting more and more adherents until it achieved final victory with the downfall of the enfeebled Hindu-Javanese state of Modjopahit in 1478. Followers of the Hindu religion fled to the Tengger Mountains and to the Island of Bali. Nearly all the inhabitants of the Archipelago have accepted the Islamic religion, with the exception of those living in the Batakland, Central Borneo, Central Sulawesi, Bali, the Moluccas and Irian.

Islam brought to Indonesia a new philosophy of life; a new world outlook; and a new kind of society. Islam taught that all people were on the same level, in contrast with the complicated hierarchy of the Hindu-Indonesian society with its caste-system and divisions. In Islam, all are equal before God. Moslem family law, wedding ceremonies and burial rites play an important role in public life, though Indonesian Mohammedanism is of a tolerant nature and incorporates many relics of the old Hindu-Javanese culture and religion.

Yet other changes took place. The building of Hindu-Javanese temples and other religious monuments ceased, except in the Island of Bali where Hinduism is still predominant. Ritual dancing for worship was transformed into ceremonial dancing in the courts of the Sunans and Sultans, for example the Bedaja and Serimpi dances. The art of sculpture became an art of architectural and ornamental design used in the mausoleums of great Islam Walies, the priests and religious teachers, and in some old mosques. However, the wayang play remained as an integral part of Islam-Javanese philosophy.

Today, Islam is the greatest influence in social life, in Madrassahs and the Islamic Universities, and also in political life through the Masjumi — the Islamic Party. The first mass organisation was the Sarikat Islam, while an Islamic organisation known as the Mohamad-dijah also had its own hospitals, schools and orphanages. Islam is not proclaimed as a State religion, although most Indonesians are Moslems. But the religious character of the people is embodied in the five principles of the State known as the Pantjasila, namely the belief in the Divine Omnipotence (Ketuhanan); Humanity; National Consciousness; Democracy and Social Justice.

In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese came to the Archipelago, attracted by the rich spice islands of the Moluccas. In the seventeenth century they were gradually expelled by the Dutch East India Company. Initially, the Dutch came to trade, but as they became increasingly prosperous, they acquired the monopoly of the spice trade. They then attempted to conquer the country, making full use of the antagonism existing between the many kingdoms and sultanates. Their campaigns succeeded and the Dutch colonial period began.

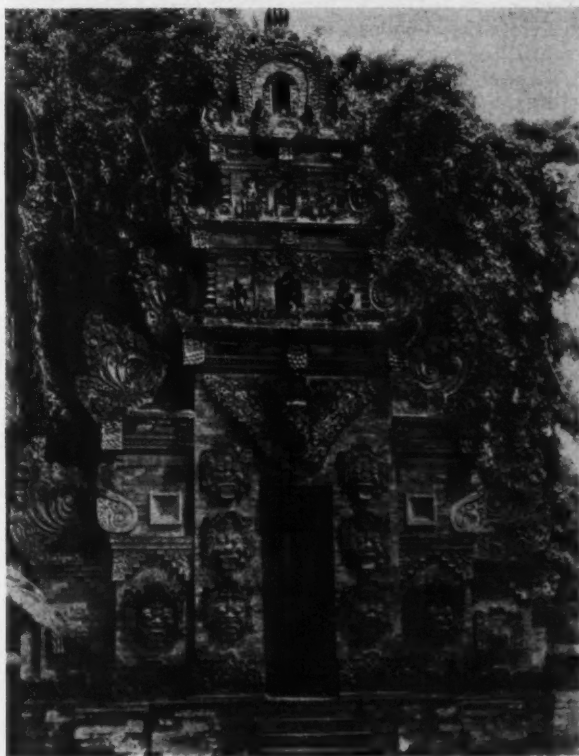
Plantations and estates were developed and tons of raw materials were sent back to the Netherlands, while Dutch industry, which had

developed extensively in the nineteenth century, found a ready market in the Indies. The Dutch administration needed cheap, educated labour and so within the colonial framework, they developed the so-called ethical policy.

Schools and other educational institutions were opened, but the colonial dual system remained. Only Dutch children or children belonging to the higher classes in Indonesian Society could obtain a western education; the rest were left to attend village primary schools and the majority remained illiterate. Roads, railways, electricity, water and other conveniences of modern society were used only in the big cities and modern transport was developed only for the transportation of goods to and from the estates. The Dutch were interested only in the exploitation of the country's resources and gave no thought to the encouragement of the arts and sciences. There were only a few institutions for higher education, insufficient libraries and museums and not one Art School. The courts of Solo and Djegja preserved some of the art treasures, the dance drama and the gamelan music, but there was no actual progress and no artistic development.

Fortunately, however, the Western education which some Indonesian intellectuals had received, stimulated thoughts of freedom. At the beginning of the twentieth century, nationalist movements began to emerge. They found the symbol of nationalist unity which they sought in the Indonesia Raya (now the national anthem) and in the Bahasa Indonesia. They grew strong in their desire for unity and independence.

The Bahasa Melayu, originally spoken in the Riau Archipelago, had become the lingua franca in trade since the rise of the Malayan kingdoms of Sumatra and Malaya, and also because of the importance of Singapore for the Eastern spice trade. Malay is spoken in most parts throughout the Archipelago. The Nationalist Movement adopted the Malay language as a national language—the Bahasa Indonesia—as it developed into a modern language in speech and literature. It has been enriched by terms from various regional dialects and foreign languages, and today, although the Bahasa Indonesia is based on Melayu, it has now become quite distinct from it.



Temple Gate in Bali

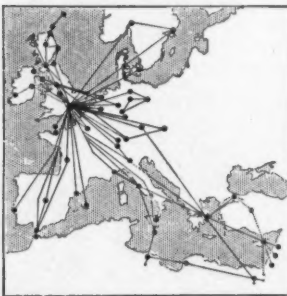


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At the Youth Congress in 1928, a solemn oath was taken to the effect that Indonesian Youth recognised only one country—Indonesia—one nationality—Indonesian—and one language—Bahasa Indonesia. The Indonesia Raya gave additional impetus to the Nationalist Movement and was sung by thousands wherever, and whenever, meetings were held.

A writers' association, the Pudjangga Baru ("The New Writer"), initiated a new period in Indonesian literature. It sought fresh outlets and new techniques for Indonesian belles-lettres and advocated occidentalism in literature. Pudjangga Baru called for more creative power and initiative and pleaded for the meeting of Eastern and Western culture.

The young writers and poets and painters were anxious to know more about western culture and read, not only Dutch literature, but also English, French, American and Russian works. They admired the paintings of Cezanne, Renoir, Kathe Kollwitz, Van Gogh and the sculpture of Rodin.

With the surrender of their army and civil government to the Japanese, the prestige of the Dutch was irreparably damaged in the eyes of Indonesians. Under Japanese rule, the use of the Dutch language was prohibited in schools and official circles. The Japanese had insufficient trained men to handle the administration of the country and Indonesians were accordingly entrusted with responsibility, and Indonesian was used as the official language of administration and school instruction. A special committee devised new scientific and technical terms which were then incorporated in the Bahasa Indonesia. The Indonesian Writers Association, and the Indonesian Painters Association became the centres for young poets and artists.

The Japanese tried to influence the cultural development of the country and created the Keimin Bunka Sidoshō (Cultural Centre) to attract Indonesian painters and poets, but their rule was too brief to leave any lasting impression, and Indonesian artists preferred to develop along their own lines and used this period to prepare for a new phase in cultural life.

This new era was heralded by the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945. The independence of the country was that impetus for which they had sought so long—that national freedom which would inspire them to greater heights of creative power. The struggle for



Nusantaraputra, a figure in the wayang shadow play. He represents the leader of the struggle for independence



liberation; the forcing back of the Dutch troops which tried to set foot in Indonesia again after the Hiroshima Bomb; the courage of the guerillas—such was their inspiration and the artists of Indonesia were kindled by it.

"The Angkatan 45" poets abandoned the older forms and traditions in poetry and rejected those aesthetic elements which had been so highly valued in the pre-war Pujangga Baru. This new generation no longer confined itself to those subjects beloved of foreign travellers—the beauty of Mooi Indie; the mountainous landscapes; the waving coconut palms and other scenes suitable for the tourist's salon—instead it expressed the truth and beauty of daily life, the struggle for liberty, in the brilliant glare of realism.

Many Artists Associations were formed—Seniman Indonesia Muda (The Young Indonesian Artists); Pelukis Indonesia (Indonesian Painters); Pelukis Rakyat (Peoples' Painters); Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia (Institute of Indonesian Culture) Irama Tjitra—and hundreds of other small artistic groups sprang into existence.

Freedom meant the desire to seek new forms of expression. Experience of the West had led to a suspicion of foreign influences and the raising of artificial barriers but now these were found to have no real existence, for in every day life, Indonesia was confronted on all sides with examples of western culture. Modern methods of communication have led to the realisation that Indonesia must build up a national culture, free of chauvinism and ready to make its contribution to general world culture.

The Congress of the National Cultural Association, which was held recently in Solo, passed several general resolutions concerning culture and education. It proposed that more attention be paid to cultural education in schools and more stress be laid on character training. Textbooks must be written in the Indonesian language, based on national democratic principles and particular attention must be paid to history. It is hoped to abolish films and literature with a corrupting influence, and to encourage the national film studios to produce more cultural films. Exhibitions, lectures, film shows, theatres, museums and libraries are to be promoted to help foster cultural development in the towns. Indeed it is hoped that a big national cultural exhibition will be held.

The individual artist is to be helped by the holding of as many exhibitions as possible. The number of universities is to be increased more academies of art are to be established, more studios, museums and libraries. At present, there are two institutes of Art—one at Bandung and another at Djogjakarta. Government subsidies are to be sought for the cultural associations, and help in the ten year plan for compulsory education—the ten year plan for mass education and the drive against illiteracy.

Indonesia aims to deepen the national consciousness; to strengthen Indonesian unity; to stimulate the communal spirit; to spread toleration and respect for all religious convictions. Above all it aims



*Balinese dancers*

to train useful citizens responsible for the well-being of the state.

As a member of the UN and UNESCO, Indonesia has to abide by the principles laid down by the United Nations; to achieve international cooperation in the solution of problems of a cultural nature; to create those conditions of stability and well-being so necessary for peaceful and friendly relations between the nations of the world, based on equal rights and self-determination; and at all times to promote international cooperation in the general fields of culture and education. Indonesia must give and take to contribute to peace and security and to further universal respect for the rule of law and for human rights and fundamental justice.

## JAPAN IN THE LITERATURE OF ENGLAND

*By Thomas E. Ennis (West Virginia University, U.S.A.)*

JAPAN has been known in England for about 400 years. Interest in this distant empire was evident long before 19th century diplomats and merchants wrote memoirs and scholars compiled accurate studies.

The first account in English of Japan appeared in 1577 in *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies and other Countries*, edited by Richard Eden and Richard Wiles. This work was based upon Jesuit sources. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were many travel books and descriptions by explorers. An attention to things Japanese was noted by John Evelyn in 1645 when he wrote from Naples that he had seen such articles as tables with "Japonic characters," fans, paper, prints, drugs, manuscripts, and a grammar written in Spanish. He describes in 1682 an English home containing Japanese

screens instead of wainscot and cabinets. John Dryden evinced his regard for the East by translating from the French in 1688 *The Life of St. Francis Xavier*, the Jesuit who introduced Christianity into Japan.

Daniel Defoe had talks with sailors about Japan. He refers to the country in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) where the hero was planning to travel to Japan but feared to entrust himself to these "false, cruel, and treacherous people." Defoe has *Crusoe* (vol. 3) change his opinion and consider bringing Christianity to the world by force, starting with Madagascar, Ceylon, Borneo, or Japan, a "most sensible, sagacious people, under excellent forms of government, and capable of more than ordinarily of receiving impressions, supported by the argument and example of a virtuous and religious conqueror." The Christian missionaries,

incidentally, were not to learn Japanese but the Japanese were to learn English. In *A New Voyage Round the World by a Course Never Sailed Before*, (1724), Defoe mentions the Japanese and the fashion for "Chinese or Japan gold and silver" as well as "japan works, pictures, fans and screens."

Jonathan Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), includes a strange tale called *A Voyage to Paputa, Balnibarbu, Luggnagg, Glubbudbrib, and Japan*, indicating that the island was regarded as half fact and half fancy. Gulliver reached Japan, this story reads, to be received graciously by the emperor. Oliver Goldsmith shows his familiarity with Japan in Letter CXVIII of *The Citizen of the World*. Here is an account of the Dutch at the imperial court and a mission to a "proud, barbarous, inhospitable region" where the inhabitants were savages and yet more pleasing than the hypocritical Dutch. Goldsmith saw only the dark side of Japanese society and indicted a "country where men are forbidden to think, and consequently labour under the most miserable slavery—that of mental servitude."

Tobias Smollett in *The History and Adventures of An Atom* (1769), presents a satirical picture of political life in which the "atom," once a Japanese, is deposited in the body of an Englishman. This book is filled with words and phrases of an Oriental flavour and is valuable for the concept of Japan held by many of the writers of the 18th century. A more intelligent outlook on Japan came after the opening of the empire and the publication of the *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in 1857-59*, by Laurence Oliphant, novelist, and secretary of British Legation in Japan. Oliphant contributed many articles on Japan to the journals of Great Britain.

John Ruskin was aware of the growing importance of the lands of Asia. He wrote in 1867 concerning a band of Japanese jugglers and a dancer performing in London. He attacked the "increasing interest in Japanese art, which has been very harmful to many of our painters." He lectured, however, in 1871 upon the principles of sculpture and praised an exhibit of Japanese creations as "at once the simplest, and, in mere patient mechanism, the most skilful piece of sculpture I can possibly show you." Part of Ruskin's lack of appreciation of Japanese art was based upon his disapproval of some of Whistler's works inspired by Japanese colour-prints.

Robert Louis Stevenson constructed in 1879 his famed *Yoshida Torajiro* in which he states that "only a few miles from us, to speak by the proportion of the universe," brave men were "stepping to death with a noble sentence on their lips." Stevenson hoped that this Japanese patriot would take his place in world history at the side of Garibaldi and John Brown. Rudyard Kipling knew Japan through a visit made in 1889. He has left a first impression in *From Sea to Sea*. Kipling loved the beauty of the land, seen in cherry-blossom time, but could not believe that these little folk were powerful enough to carry on extensive political experiments. He travelled to Japan again in 1891, leaving an appreciation in *Letters of Travel (1892-1913)*. One poem, the *Buddha at Kamakura* (1892), is almost as popular as *The Road to Mandalay*:—

And whoso will, from Pride released,  
Contemning neither creed nor priest,  
May feel the Soul of all the East  
About him at Kamakura.

Sir Edwin Arnold in 1891 published *Japonica*, a study dealing with manners and customs. He wrote also prefaces to catalogues of Japanese pictures and letters to the *Daily Telegraph* on his journey to Japan. Sir Edwin gave lectures on Japanese civilisation and composed a play, *Adzuma*; or *The Japanese Wife* (1892).

The 20th century brought about a great change in regard to Japan. The war of 1894-1895 with China proved Japanese determination to become a world power. Books in English dealing with all phases of Japanese life were in demand. Nitobe's *Bushido* (1904); Okakura's *The Ideals of the East with special reference to the Art of Japan* (1903); *The Awakening of Japan* (1905); *The Book of Tea* (1906), and *The Japanese Spirit* (1905), were read widely. George Meredith, the novelist, composed an Introduction for *The Japanese Spirit* in which he lauded the "bushido," "almost an English word, so greatly has it impressed us with the principle of renunciation on behalf of the country's welfare."

John Masefield wrote *The Faithful* (1913), a re-telling of the story of the celebrated forty-seven Ronin. H. G. Wells was interested especially in the code of the Samurai and placed in his Utopia an order of intellectual warriors dedicated to rule the ideal state. W. B. Yeats brought forth in 1919 an essay, *Certain No Plays of Japan*. Here he writes that "I have invented a form of drama, distinguished, indirect, and symbolic, and having no need of mob or press to pay its way—an aristocratic form... It is an advantage of this noble form that it need absorb no one's life, that its few properties can be packed up in a box or hung upon the walls where they will be fine ornaments." Yeats was so impressed by the *No* drama that he concluded in the same essay that some of the conventional appendages of the art "were more like ourselves than were the Greeks and Romans, more like us even than are Shakespeare and Corneille." His *Four Plays for Dancers* appeared in 1921, containing the *No* stage atmosphere.

Alfred Noyes, in his *Collected Poems* (1920), mainly is concerned with English scenes and settings of the past and present. Some of his most melodic verses, however, are inspired by the facts and fancies of romantic Japan. *A Triple Ballad of Old Japan* tells of "pig-tailed sailors lurching slow Thro' streets of old Japan" and a game played on a lacquered tray. In *The Symbolist* he asks for help "to seek that unknown land" which turns out to be nothing but the wind and a house of snow. *Haunted in Old Japan* is filled with silver foam, sobbing voices, dim lagoons and low moons. One of the longest, *The Flower of Old Japan*, contains "pirates, mandarins, bonzes, priests, jugglers."

Three well-known British authors have lived in Japan. Edmund Charles Blunden in *Poems, 1914-1930*, includes several verses called *Japanese Garland*, written during the years he was professor of English Literature at Tokyo Imperial University. In *The Mind's Eye* (1934), there are some poems dealing with Japan, together with comments upon Japanese art. Laurence Binyon, who until his death in 1943, was Keeper of Prints at the British Museum, lectured in Japan. He wrote two standard books: *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art and Painting in the Far East*. William Charles Franklyn Plomer, more than any other Englishman of today, has used Japanese backgrounds. They are found in his *Selected Poems*, in *Sado* (1935), in *Paper Houses*.

Plomer in *Paper Houses* criticises the Japanese fondness for regimentation but points out for "us not for one moment (to) forget the Japan that invented that triumph of civilisation, the folding fan; that built the Hakkédo; that produced the *Tale of Genji*, and little masterpieces like the *Hojio-ki* and *Tsurezure-gusa*; and the painters Sotatsu, Sesshu and Okyo; the Japan which still can feel 'the sense of the irreparable in an opening flower of peach'."

From such appreciation, as discussed here, to understanding, may come other enduring creations by English writers, fascinated by that restless empire of the Pacific.

# THE FABLE GOES ROUND

By Raja Rao (New Delhi)

(published by agreement with Unesco)

SCHOLARS often have a way of making simple things complicated and complicated things look so simple that it all seems egregious fun. Take the fable, for instance. Some say it originated in Greece, instead of coming from India as many scholars believe. In fact no one knows where the fable actually began and, ultimately, does it matter very much? The truth is that it has given a great deal of pleasure to millions of people all over the world, and continues to do so to this very day.

Yet the history of the fable is like the fable itself. It's all concerned with wolf and lion, jackal, tiger, tortoise and mice, and which started where, and who started which, and who translated what and when. Did, for example, the jackal of India become a wolf in its westward travel, or did it become Aesop's fox? If we are to believe the scholar Hertz, there must be a common origin for all these tales of jackals, wolves, geese, tortoises and tigers, elephants and ravens. And, of course, we must not forget the donkey!

In fact, La Fontaine was right: the ass started it all. This poor braying beast was known even to Plato, who speaks of it in the *Cratylus*; but no one knows whether the first owner of this lowly animal was a washerman or a merchant, for he changes his profession with time and the circumstances of geography. First he's just a washerman, one of those still found in India and called Dhubhi who use a donkey to carry the soiled clothes to the river. Well, the washer of clothes in this tale is very poor indeed, and his donkey is lean and feeble. But one day he finds a dead panther in the jungle, cleans its skin and puts it on the donkey to take it home. That evening, a panther is seen in the fields of the village, eating up the crops, and the people flee in terror. It is dark, you understand, and they cannot see. Day comes, and the donkey carries the clothes down to the river. And so it goes on: at night the panther, in the daytime the donkey, who soon grows fat and prosperous. Then one day it sees the female of its species and starts to bray loudly, and the female gives back a becoming answer. On seeing this, an angry villager takes up his knife and cudgel and cuts the poor donkey to bits.

Now as the centuries passed and the fable wandered westward (or so it would seem), the donkey's nocturnal disguise changed and with it the caste of its owner. The washerman became a merchant; and the donkey became a lion, under the Buddha, who ends one of his beast-fables with this remark:

This is not a lion's roaring,  
Nor a tiger's, nor a panther's.  
Dressed in a lion's skin  
'Tis a wretched ass that roars.

Two thousand years later, La Fontaine wrote almost the same thing:

Donning a lion's skin which shrouded his very feet,  
An ass terrified every friend—  
A plain donkey whose counterfeited  
Shook the whole world from end to end.

In the controversy between scholars, La Fontaine definitely took sides. "I gratefully acknowledge," he wrote in the foreword to his second book of fables, "that I owe the most part to Pilpay, the Indian sage. His book has been translated into all languages." And when La Fontaine speaks of the milkmaid Perrette whose pot

Fitted her head-mat just right  
Neatly quilted to grip the pot tight

this is just another version of the story of the poor Brahmin who,

with a bowl of gruel at his feet, sits dreaming of his future wife. She is very beautiful and has borne him a son called "Moon Lord." And the child, seeing his father in the stables (for by now the father would have horses and stables, of course), crawls towards him. Afraid lest the child be hurt by the horse, he goes swiftly to his careless wife and gives her such a rollicking kick that the gruel spills all over the floor.

The same thing happens with La Fontaine's fable of the tortoise who wishes to roam the world. She sets off on an air-borne journey to America carried along by two ducks, each gripping the end of a stick. All goes well until the tortoise, replying to mockery from below, lets go of the stick and falls. The Indian tortoise falls too; she travels in the same ingenious manner, conveyed by geese instead of ducks, and bound not for America but for another pool, for there is a great drought in the land and it has lasted twelve hot years.

Now the stories of the *Panchatantra* have made similar but more successful trips down the centuries and through many lands. Actually, the book itself is almost non-existent in its original form. It is attributed to the mythical Vidyapathi, who in his wanderings became La Fontaine's Pilpay. The book was first written in Sanskrit, but it happened that Chosroes Anushirvan of Persia (531-579 A.D.), on hearing of these wise tales, sent his doctor Barzouey to search for this "treasure of wisdom." Barzouey gave a Persian rendering of the text, and in 750 A.D. it was translated into beautiful Arabic by Abdullah Ibn Almoqaffa. There was also a Syriac version of the *Panchatantra* by Bud, and then a second version three centuries later from the Arabic into Syriac.

Meanwhile, the Arabic text became widely known. It was translated into Greek by the Jew Simon Seth, and into Spanish on the orders of Alfonso the Wise. In 1100, John of Capua gave a Latin rendering of Rabbi Joel's Hebrew version, and in 1470 the Duke of Wurtemberg, Eberhard I, translated it into German, under the title *Beispiele der Weisen geschlecht zu geschlecht*.

In Southern France, Philip the Fair's wife, Joan of Navarre, had the work translated by her wise doctor, Raymond of Beziere, while Doni produced an Italian version from which Sir Thomas North made his famous translation, published in 1570 under the title *The Morall Philosophie of Doni*. It was only in 1644 that the *Apologues de Bidpai* appeared in French. But La Fontaine himself seems to have used a Latin version of the *Panchatantra*, *Calila et Dinna* (the latinised names of Karataka and Damanaka), which had been translated from the Greek of Simon Seth. La Fontaine had heard of these tales from his friend François Bernier, the famous traveller. For by now many Westerners had visited India: Alfonso of Albuquerque and the Portuguese, then the French at the court of the Great Mogul and, finally, the British. Schools opened in India where the children learned of the wonders of the Western world. At their English classes, they read many interesting fables, stories and poems. They read, for example, of Llewellyn's faithful hound, Gelert, who protected his master's child. And when they studied Sanskrit, they discovered in the *Panchatantra* that the dog had turned into a mongoose, who protected the child of the good Brahmin from the serpent. Then one day, Narayana Balkrishna Godpole, a schoolmaster from Agmednagar, put all these European fables into Sanskrit, and thus the fable ended as a fable of the fable.

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## THE VACUUM CLEANER

By Florence Hayes Turner

MRS. NEWBY climbed the stairs past her new Indian lodger's door, noticing with a sense of injury that it was tightly closed. Then her thin, high-bridged nose twitched disgustedly as the cloying fragrance of incense assailed her nostrils.

"Heathen rubbish!" she said to herself and her middle-aged face settled deeper into its lined pattern of contempt. She closed the door of her sitting-room with a loud noise, signifying to anyone in the flat that she had returned. Dropping her basket of groceries on the sofa, she stood for a moment rubbing aching hands together. They were fine hands, elegantly moulded, but the nails were ragged, the skin etched sharply by the intimate dirt of house-keeping. She gave them a quick glance, unloading a little of her contempt, then her eyes narrowed and a listening expression eased her mouth, causing it to hang slightly open. She looked at that moment like a highly pedigreed, under-fed and ageing hound.

There was a soft sound of foot-falls from the floor above, slow and a trifle uncertain. With a swift movement Mrs. Newby opened her door and stood looking up the stair way, her long, flat body tense, her neck stretched until the tendons stood out.

"Miss Eliot!" she called in a clear, angry voice, "Are you using the kitchen again?"

Mrs. Newby's flat occupied three floors of a tall, Victorian house not far from Kensington Gardens. A turbulent, commercial life had grown up to its doors, spilling over into the ground floor which was leased to a publishing firm, but Mrs. Newby who had lived there ever since the death of her husband, Colonel Anthony Newby, Indian Army, retired, pretended ignorance of any change, clinging to her tenancy with a persistence compounded of both expediency and fear. Two years before she had yielded to necessity and acquired Miss Eliot above and Miss Roberts below, establishing herself with hostile privacy in what had been, during those far-off days before the War, her husband's comfortable study. There remained the box-room which had been kept symbolically empty until yesterday when with a feeling of outrage amounting to shock, she had accepted Mr. Niemal Lall of Bombay as occupant of the now meagrely furnished little room with its single window.

"Because he can pay, of course," she replied to the curious probing of friends, and there was no trace of resignation in her voice. After all, four guineas was little enough to ask for an humiliation such as hers. Besides she gave him breakfast.

"But what would Anthony have said?"

She sensed the unspoken question quivering on their lips but ignored it just as she ignored it in her mind. The comments of her late husband on Mrs. Lall's presence were not worth consideration since the situation would never have arisen in his life-time. All that remained to Mrs. Newby of the Colonel's memory, apart from a grim-eyed photograph in a silver frame (which she polished irritably twice a week) was an intermittent nostalgia for the easy despotism of their few years in Lahore when the mindless comfort of her own life helped her to overlook the fact that he was much older and somewhat

repugnant to her physically. She resolutely closed her thoughts to his last querulous and dependent years, choosing only to remember the time when everyone, even herself who knew better, spoke of him as "a fine man." Otherwise, she was apt to think of him solely as the cause of her present declining position in the world. The Colonel, alas, had commuted his pension.

"I'm no better than a servant," she said frequently to bored acquaintances and a blurred memory of "Colonel Newby's charming wife" stretched out in a rattan chair on the club verandah would drift through her mind.

Now she called again, "Is it you, I say, Miss Eliot!" and, receiving no reply, began to mount the stairs to the small kitchen at the top of the house, ready for battle, her mouth a tight line of preparation. Miss Eliot knew very well that she had no right to use the kitchen when there was a perfectly good gas-ring in her own room, installed at considerable expense and inconvenience. Mrs. Newby had spoken to her about the matter several times but it seemed to make no difference. Furthermore, the towels—

"Oh, really, this is the limit!"

For there they were, strung out to dry in a limp line along the top-floor bannister. To Mrs. Newby, they represented the degradation of her present life, for could not one try to live like a lady even when the luxuries of existence were no longer available? The force of resentment made her dizzy and she fought back a desire to shout, saying only in a voice rigid with self-control, "Miss Eliot, I would like to speak to you."

"I beg pardon?"

Mr. Niemal Lall, his large, dark eyes full of inquiry, had appeared in the kitchen door. He was a slender young man with sensitive features and a luxuriant burst of black curls which he kept sternly in place with a thick pomade.

"Oh, it's you."

Her anger turned to suspicion and she glanced swiftly away from his gentle face, searching fiercely for signs of disorder, her mind automatically tabulating the dishes in their cupboard, the kettle, innocent of steam on the shabby gas stove, the lids of coffee, tea and sugar tins still in place. Finally, she noticed that Mr. Lall held a tea towel in one hand, a cup in the other and that a tray containing the remains of breakfast had been placed on her well-scrubbed table.

"What are you doing here?" she demanded in an icy voice and, not waiting for his reply, continued, "I think you should know, Mr. Lall, that this is my kitchen and that I never allow my guests to use it under any circumstances."

Mr. Lall was watching her with concern. He was a highly intelligent young man, but he was only twenty-three, and the suddenness of Mrs. Newby's attack had confused him. Also he was not inexperienced in the manifestations of prejudice.

"I am very sorry. I did not know—the maid was not coming for my tray, so to help I was washing—"

"Maid! I have no maid!"

Some of the friendliness in the Indian's eyes had faded. He carefully put down the cup and hung the tea-towel in its place, then, giving Mrs. Newby a slight bow, he left the kitchen and presently she heard his door quietly shutting behind him.

The next day was Wednesday, and on Wednesdays Mrs. Newby cleaned the lodger's rooms, her mouth drawn with distaste, her head swathed in a large scarf to shield it from the dust. She chose this day specifically because Miss Eliot, who held only a part-time job and therefore was too often at home for Mrs. Newby's liking, went down

to the country to visit her mother. Young Miss Roberts was never at home except to sleep or to lie-about on Sunday mornings in a comfortable state of undress. This, too, Mrs. Newby found displeasing. Mr. Lall had said he would be out most of the day as he was doing research at the British Museum, but for what reason Mrs. Newby had not troubled to ask. Law, she supposed. Weren't all young Indians Law students?

She followed the mourning vacuum cleaner from corner to corner, pretending not to see the small revelations of privacy displayed before her eyes—Miss Eliot's much-mended dressing-gown or the flippant lace of Miss Roberts' petticoat, forgotten on a chair. Mrs. Newby disliked these forced entries into other people's lives almost as much as she resented the presence of strangers under her own roof. Both necessities seemed to her an infringement of what should have been the correct behaviour for someone of her social standing. "How unfair everything is," she thought, but the well-worn lament held no comfort for her; it was now merely a plaintive obligato underlying the dreary composition of her working day. An acrid regurgitation of dust filled her nostrils and she thought tiredly, "The bag's too full; I'll have to empty it."

She carried the vacuum cleaner into the hall and removed its bag, heavy with accumulated dust. Arranging a newspaper on the floor, she knelt down and emptied the contents, her mouth tight with disgust as the pile of fine dust, hair-combings, odd bits of fluff and pins mounted before her. She hurried to hide it from her sight, hurried too because above everything else she could not stand the humiliation of anyone seeing her in this servile position. She had never forgotten the day when Miss Eliot had found her thus and now her lips repeated the words she always held in readiness should anyone ever again arrive unexpectedly in the hallway.

"Such convenient things, these vacuum cleaners. I sometimes wonder how my mother's servants ever managed without them."

"Now for that Indian," she said to herself, rising a little painfully to her feet.

She had not entered the box-room since Mr. Lall's arrival on Monday and she looked around in surprise at its changed appearance. A large crayon drawing of Mahatma Gandhi hung on the wall, while draped over the foot of the divan bed was a magnificent piece of quilted silk, flaming with orange and crimson, veined by gold thread, and at the heart of each puckered gathering of silk there glinted what Mrs. Newby took at first to be sequins but when she peered more closely, proved to be tiny mirrors.

For a moment the tense lines of her face softened. "How lovely!" she whispered and put out one hand to stroke the quilt, hearing the rasping sound of her rough skin against the silk. Untidy, careless! Well, she might have expected it. And that incense—how it hung about. She threw open the small window wide, exclaiming with irritation as a gust of wind scattered some papers piled high on the card table she had given Mr. Lall as a desk. Bending to retrieve them she noticed a heading "International Law, Part 11." So she had been right. He was a law student. And that type-writer—brand new and expensive-looking. There was money all right, and her lips tightened with the old bitterness. How unfair—

She made the bed quickly, noting that one sleeve of his pyjamas was ripped and that the jacket did not match the trousers. A faint concern seized her and for the first time she saw Mr. Lall as something besides a necessary evil in the design of her existence. He was really just a boy after all and she wondered briefly if he was lonely. Then

she shrugged thin shoulders. Well, it was none of her business. She plugged in the vacuum cleaner with a fierce hand but as she moved about the room, her glance returned several times to the quilt, and a stiff smile of pleasure crossed her face.

Finishing, she switched off the current, and sat down on the bed's edge to rest. "Only for a moment," she thought, otherwise that Indian might come in and find her there. Feeling the quilt's softness beneath her lean body, she relaxed slightly, but from long habit glanced about the room, wondering if there was any area of untidiness she might have overlooked. There! What was that on the table? Candle grease! and a half-burned, fat candle, leaning tipsily in its holder. From some dim alcove of her memory, a word emerged and took form and she murmured softly "A diva! A prayer candle," feeling pleased with herself. Extraordinary, after all these years to have remembered. Her pleasure compensated for the irritation she had felt on seeing the candle grease. She relaxed further, accepting the images that began to crowd through her mind. There was a sudden glimpse of the temple she used to pass on the way to the bazaar; the sound of music, bursting over their garden wall in a swinging rhythm of plucked strings, pipes and nasal singing; the drums! ("that infernal din," Anthony had called them). There was the remembered scent of dampened dust, ordure and flowering shrubbery, and her nervousness as she inspected her dinner-table the first time they entertained. How her long, hound's face assumed a wistful look and she sniffed absently at the lingering perfume of incense in the room. It was not difficult for Mrs. Newby over the years to recognise only those memories of India which were comforting and offered the luxury of nostalgia. All the rest, such as protocol, envy or the morning when Anthony, suffering from a hangover, his red face demented with rage, had thrown a plate of scrambled eggs in the cook's face, she was able most of the time to forget. At least, she repeated to herself, there had been servants and a position in life and what had at the time seemed an ordered security of existence. Everything was now changed, of course. She had been told that the Indians were the pukka sahibs now.

In fact, if one chose to think of things in that light, the reversed order of life was not confined to India. What if Anthony could see her now! A servant and a slave, without even children to offer her their support. For a moment her head in its incongruous wrapping drooped until, appalled, she felt the warm indulgence of tears. Revolting! and fishing in her apron pocket for a handkerchief, she blew her nose hard.

Engrossed in her thoughts, she had not heard the sound of feet on the stairs, and when the door opened to admit Mr. Lall, she stood up with an abruptness that made her dizzy.

"Oh, it's you, Mr. Lall."

She was furious with herself for having been caught with turbaned head and vacuum cleaner.

Mr. Lall was watching her with an expression of wary surprise which changed to distress as he noticed the handkerchief, the reddened eyelids and the slight tremor of her head.

"Mrs. Newby, you are not well, is it?"

"Yes, yes, I'm quite all right."

She bent to pick up the vacuum cleaner, feeling her dizziness increase.

He looked at her anxiously. "You are tired. Please sit down." His face brightened. "Let me make a cup of tea."

"Oh no, I must go—"

But he had already lit the gas-ring and she thought, "Well, why not? A cup of tea would be nice."

Seated once more, she drew a deep breath, feeling the dizziness begin to pass, watching with a certain bewilderment as Mr. Lall set out the cups and saucers. (They were not hers she noticed auto-



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matically.) The vacuum cleaner lay at her feet like a sleeping dog, its long tail stretched out across the carpet.

"I too have acquired the custom of tea at this time of the morning. Very refreshing," said Mr. Lall busily. He glanced round at her. "Besides, it is so nice for me to have a visitor." His teeth showed brilliantly against his dark skin.

She made an effort. "I have been admiring your quilt. It is a lovely one. I hope I am not crushing it."

"Not at all, Mrs. Newby." His smile had widened with delight.

"It makes me happy that you like it. My mother had it made for me. She was frightened that I would not be warm enough in England. She fusses a great deal, but then it is so much warmer in Bombay. Look, here is a picture of my mother."

She stared down at the wide, gentle face, framed in a white sari.

"Yes, I know the climate well. I used to live in Lahore."

Vexed, she wondered why she had told him.

"But you have never said anything, Mrs. Newby!"

His voice was full of pleasure. "Then you are not unfamiliar with these things I have in my room." He gestured with a slim hand. "My diva and prayer things and the incense. I have stayed in some houses where the landladies have objected to the smell of incense." He smiled. "They say it is a heathen smell. Poor things, they are unable to recognise anything but their own religion and to them a Brahmin is just another heathen. Isn't it amusing?" He looked at her, his face alight with friendliness. "But you and I know it is nothing but ignorance. Poor things, poor things."

She took a sip of tea, feeling unaccountably embarrassed.

"Well, I suppose you could say it was ignorance."

She pointed suddenly to the brightly coloured card picturing of an old man that was propped against his table-lamp.

"But I know he is your guru," she said triumphantly, wondering how long it had been since she had even thought of the word.

"Certainly, certainly. Oh, this is very splendid. We must have talks, Mrs. Newby. You must tell me about Lahore. Where did you live? I too have been there."

"It was many years ago," she said, and then, looking at him over her carefully balanced cup and saucer precisely as she might have done at a formal tea-party, she asked politely, "You are a law student, are you not, Mr. Lall?"

"Certainly, certainly. But I shall never practise."

She was puzzled. "Why is that?"

"Because my father forbids. He says that the practice of law is its most iniquitous form."

Mr. Lall's eyes were gleaming; he rubbed his nose with an enthusiastic finger. "I only study law the better to understand international relations. I must know why nations cannot be friends, just as you and I are now friends."

"What on earth is he talking about?" Mrs. Newby wondered uncomfortably, leaning forward to set down her empty cup.

But Mr. Lall had his own interpretation of her blank expression. "Perhaps you are thinking, isn't it, that I am very simple? But there is truth in what I say, Mrs. Newby. Friendship begins with people talking as you and I are talking. How else can nations begin to understand one another?"

She was listening vaguely, only recognising the appeal in his voice. "Very interesting," she murmured and made a preliminary movement towards departure.

Instantly he was on his feet. "Wait, please, Mrs. Newby." He turned and began rummaging in a suitcase. "I have something for you. There! Please, this is a small memento from India and your friend, Nimal Lall."

He held out a small, white box, exquisitely painted in soft red and blues.

"You like it?" he inquired anxiously, for she was staring at the box in silence, her turbaned head bent.

"Oh yes, it is a beautiful thing and you are most kind." She stroked it once gently, then pushed it into her apron pocket and stood up. "But I must get on with my jobs," she said and bent to pick up the vacuum cleaner, refusing his help with a touch of her usual asperity.

"But you cannot go now," he cried. "We must talk about India. No? but you will come again and I will play for you my Indian records and you will tell me about your life in Lahore."

She was now impatient to be gone. Already she had yielded too much of her time to this odd young man who had somehow ceased to be in her thoughts "that Indian."

"Perhaps," she said.

But he would not relinquish her so easily, driven by his own loneliness and the discovery of their small, mutual bond.

"Since you are knowing India, perhaps you would care to read some of my books."

He seized one from the bookcase and thrust it into her hand, in his eagerness bringing his head close to hers as he turned the pages so that she could smell the pomade on his hair.

"Oh, I never have time to read," she said and edged further away.

"But this book is by a very talented man, Raja Rau. He writes wonderfully well about the poor, forgotten people of our country, the ones whose cause Gandhiji has supported, those who do only the most lowly work, who clean up our dirt, the untouchables."

She was staring down at the book with a queer expression, her thin mouth twisted in a sour, half-smile.

"It is, of course, a problem of religion," he continued pompously. "But we are learning, Mrs. Newby, we are learning."

She scarcely heard him. "That fellow's an untouchable," Anthony had said long ago, indicating their sweeper. "Good name for him, what? if you stop to consider the nature of his job—nightsoil and all that sort of thing. Wouldn't touch him with a ten-foot pole myself. Ha, ha!"

Remembering, she looked up slowly from the book. Did this Indian dare to make fun of her? The untouchables, indeed! "Those who clean up the dirt"! Her fingers tightened on the book in anger.

"You will read the book, Mrs. Newby?" asked Mr. Lall, his large eyes watching her pleadingly.

"The little fool," she thought contemptuously, "He doesn't know what he has said, but then he's very young."

"Very well, then," she said, making up her mind with habitual firmness. "I will try to read it. But you mustn't expect to see it again for some weeks."

She paused and began to coil the long tail of the vacuum cleaner. "As you know," she went on, "I am always busy."

"Take all the time you need, Mrs. Newby, please."

She straightened up to look at him unsmilingly. "That is my intention, Mr. Lall. Thank you for the tea and good day."

She turned away, the book under one arm, the vacuum cleaner hanging from the other, and with dignified steps left the room.



# ECONOMIC SECTION

## THE WORLD BANK'S WORK IN ASIA

By Joseph Rucinski (Washington)

THE course of political evolution and the speed of economic expansion in recent years have served to underline the tremendous importance of South-East Asia and the Far East to the destiny of the rest of the world. The region stretching from Afghanistan to Japan contains nearly half of the free world's population and is the main reservoir of a number of vital mineral and agricultural products. There has been growing recognition, particularly since the end of the Second World War, of the decisive influence which events in this region can have throughout the world. Representatives from this part of Asia have become familiar and often indispensable members of international gatherings where major plans are being worked out and decisions taken.

The population masses and potential wealth of southern and eastern Asia also give it key importance in any effort to improve the economic lot of mankind. These countries, because all of them are living at standards far below those shown to be possible in the west, have presented a challenge both to the governments concerned and to the world as a whole.

It is therefore encouraging to note that, since the World Bank began operations nearly ten years ago, these countries have increasingly recognised the part which the Bank can play in supporting and accelerating their development programmes. Because the Bank's 58 member governments are not confined to any particular geographical grouping but extend over nearly the whole of the free world, the Bank is in a position to provide assistance of an effective kind. The needs and possibilities of the region are in many ways complementary to those of the industrialised west, which provides a market for four-fifths of the exports of South-East Asia and has traditionally been the source of much of the finance, equipment and technology required to stimulate production. With a total of over \$300 million now lent in the region and with extensive help given in solving the technical problems of development, the Bank has already added a sizeable contribution to the progress made during the past decade.

At present, World Bank loans are helping to carry out important projects of economic development in five countries of the East—Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Thailand and Japan. For the most part, these loans are financing

basic services which form the platform of development—such things as electric power, transport systems and aids to agricultural production. As these projects come into operation, the Bank has also been able, to some extent, to help private enterprise take advantage of the basic economic facilities.

The Bank has lent \$140 million in India, making it the Bank's largest borrower in the region. The loans in India are typical of what the Bank is doing on a world-wide scale to give support where it is most urgently needed and can have the greatest effect.

In 1949, the Bank made a loan to India to improve railway operations by the purchase of locomotives. A loan was also made to finance some 275 heavy tractors which are engaged in what is probably the largest land reclamation operation in the world today. By means of deep ploughing, they are ridding farm land in central India of a weed called kans grass. It is expected that by the end of 1957 about one-and-a-half million acres of land will be fully restored to cultivation, and that the reclaimed land will yield an additional 260,000 tons a year of foodgrains. Two other loans are financing parts of a scheme to develop the Damodar Valley. This calls for an increase of electric power generating capacity, irrigation of about 1 million acres, flood control and water transport.

Three loans to private companies in India are for increased iron and steel production at the Burnpur works of the Indian Iron and Steel Company; for a large thermal power plant near Bombay, owned and operated by the Tata

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The author is Director of the Department of Operations—Asia and the Middle East, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington.



Mr. Joseph Rucinski, Director of the World Bank's Department dealing with Asia, the author of this article

Group; and for the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India. The ICICI, to which reference has been made in earlier issues of *Eastern World*, will provide finance to private industrial enterprises in India to encourage the participation of private capital and to assist private enterprises in obtaining managerial and technical advice. Of the initial share capital of Rs.50 million, Rs.35 million was subscribed by Indian investors, Rs.20 million by private placement and Rs.15 million through a public offering. The offering was oversubscribed; the fact that nearly 2,000 applications were received, many of them for modest amounts, indicates that the small investor is taking a growing interest in Indian industrial development. The balance of the Corporation's share capital, amounting to Rs.15 million, was subscribed by private investors in the United Kingdom and the United States. The Government of India is contributing to the resources of the corporation with a thirty-year interest-free loan of Rs.75 million.

In Pakistan the Bank so far has lent a total of \$77 million. One of its loans is helping to change the face of the Thal desert in West Pakistan and transform it into a fertile farm area. Bank-financed machinery is being used in the Thal to clear overlying sand, dig irrigation ditches, bring in water from the Indus and Jhelum Rivers, plough the land and plant it to crops. Refugees are being settled on the former desert as fast as irrigation is completed, and there is a long list of Pakistanis anxious to start work on the new land.

In East Pakistan the Bank has covered part of the cost of building a paper mill which, using local bamboo for raw material, will supply writing and wrapping paper that at present has to be imported.

To strengthen basic services a loan was made for

railway rehabilitation; this is putting diesel locomotives into service on the rail networks of both East and West Pakistan. Power supplies will be improved in Karachi, where the Bank is helping to expand generating capacity and so to overcome the power shortage which has resulted from the city's very rapid growth. Also in Karachi, where the type of cargo handled has greatly changed and the volume of maritime traffic has doubled since Partition, a Bank loan is helping to rebuild quays, reconstruct berths and instal new storage and handling equipment for the port.

Pakistan's resources of natural gas are being developed with the help of a loan to build a 350-mile pipeline from the newly-discovered Sui gas field down the Indus Valley to Karachi. This project illustrates the growth of private investors' interest in Pakistan's economic progress. The operation is being conducted by the Sui Gas Transmission Company, established about a year ago for this purpose. Three-quarters of the capital shares of the Company were sold to private investors in Pakistan and in the United Kingdom. When the shares were offered in Pakistan, they were oversubscribed five times. There are now some 20,000 shareholders in Pakistan, and the stock is selling at a premium. Six of the Eastern Exchange Banks in London also took part in the operation by subscribing over £500,000 toward the Bank's loan.

In Ceylon, the World Bank has made a loan of some \$19 million for the Aberdeen-Laksapana hydro-electric scheme to develop the power potential of two rivers at a point about 50 miles east of Colombo. This loan is helping to increase power supplies for the city and for the surrounding tea, rubber and coconut plantations. The Bank has also been assisting the Government in setting up a Development Finance Corporation to encourage the growth of private enterprise.

One of the world's largest rice producing areas—the valley of the winding Chao Phya River in Thailand—is being made more productive through the irrigation of an additional two and-a-quarter million acres with the help of a Bank loan to Thailand. This project includes a diversion barrage across the river in the Central Plains, and a network of canals. It is expected that the irrigation system will enable Thai farmers in some parts of the region to grow two crops of rice a year instead of one.

At Bangkok itself, another Bank Loan is being used to modernise the port. The main problem here was to cut a channel through a large sand bar at the mouth of the river and so allow 10,000-ton ships to enter Bangkok harbour. The channel has been open for a year and a half, and its increasing use by ocean-going ships is reducing freight-handling charges. A loan made to Thailand in 1950 financed the building of railway workshops near Bangkok, and the installation of railway signalling equipment. As has been the Bank's practice in many cases, this was followed up by further lending for associated purposes when work under the earlier loan had been successfully carried out. In August, this year, \$12 million was lent for improvement of the track and purchase of locomotives, rolling stock and other equipment. Bank lending in Thailand to date amounts to \$37 million.

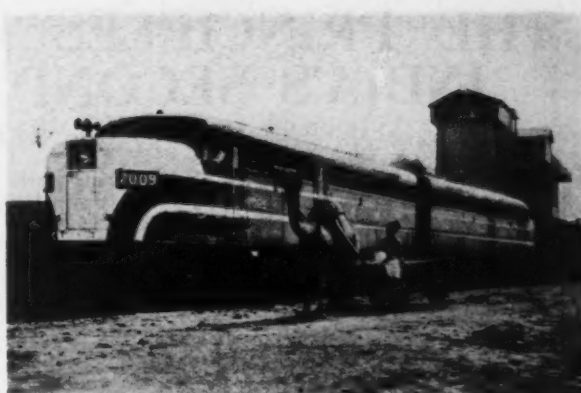
In the case of Japan, where industrialisation is already far advanced, the Bank has helped to expand supplies of electric power needed for modernising and increasing industrial production. It has lent \$40 million for three thermal plants in various parts of Japan. But missions which have visited Japan have also stressed the need of better agricultural methods, and recommendations for expanding and diversifying farm production have recently been forwarded to the Japanese Government. The Bank has also discussed the possibility of assisting in the re-equipment of certain steel mills, and has offered to help in a study of methods of modernising Japanese coal production.

In addition to lending money the Bank furnishes various kinds of technical assistance and advice. A general survey mission, intended to assess the economic potential of member countries and to provide a basis for the Government's development policies, was sent to Ceylon in 1951; in 1954 a similar mission visited the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore. Recommendations contained in the report on Ceylon have been given close attention by the government, and an Institute of Scientific and Industrial Research, the need for which was stressed in the Report, was set up in Colombo at the beginning of the year. The Report on Malaya and Singapore outlines programmes of action designed to meet the economic problems of the two territories over the next five years, and is now under active study by the Governments concerned. The Bank has also collaborated in the discussions between India and Pakistan on ways of increasing the irrigation use of the Indus system of rivers. In June these discussions led to an inter-governmental agreement on the sharing of water during the then current crop season.

Through subscribing funds and providing specialised skills the nations of the East have made effective contributions to the lending and other activities of the Bank. Bank members, whether or not they are borrowers, are part owners of the Bank. Subscriptions to the Bank's capital by the five countries discussed above equal about \$775 million, of which one-fifth is paid-in and the remaining four-fifths in effect provides a guarantee fund which lies behind the Bank's own bonds. The Bank obtains the greater part of its lending funds by sales of these bonds; approximately \$850 million in five different currencies, some of them purchased by investors in the East, are now outstanding.

The Bank's Board of Executive Directors, which approves all its loans and shapes its general policy, is made up of 16 Directors representing all 58 member countries. Within the past few months Afghanistan and Korea have joined the Bank, so that the Bank's membership now covers almost the whole of southern and eastern Asia. Among the present Directors and Alternate Directors are nationals of Ceylon, Nationalist-China, India, Indonesia, Japan and Pakistan.

The Bank will undoubtedly continue to lend primarily for basic facilities. The proposed new affiliate of the Bank—the International Finance Corporation—will aim to supplement the Bank's activities by stimulating private investment, particularly in industry and particularly in underdeveloped areas.



*A World Bank loan helped Pakistan to purchase 37 of these diesel locomotives, 41 shunting locomotives and other rolling stock*



*Heavy-duty tractors, financed by a World Bank loan, at work in a vast land reclamation programme in Central India*

The IFC will have an authorised capital of \$100 million, available for subscription by governments in proportion to their subscription to the World Bank.

To encourage private investment, the IFC will be empowered to participate in types of financing from which the Bank is excluded. For example, it will be able to make loans for private projects without the necessity of obtaining a governmental guarantee. It will also be empowered to provide private undertakings with venture capital—whereas the Bank can make only fixed-interest loans. But the Corporation will not itself make equity investments, and will only invest in projects where private investors are carrying a full share of the load. While the IFC can help to provide some of the capital needed for development projects, its main function will be to encourage other investors to participate in worthwhile undertakings.

The World Bank, and its new affiliate the IFC, can play only a relatively small part in the whole complex process of developing the untapped resources of the world. I believe, however, that the record to date shows that the Bank is playing a useful and practical role in this process. In the years ahead I believe that it will continue to do effective work in helping to translate the aspirations of millions of people in underdeveloped areas into solid economic and social achievements.



# THE PRINCIPLES AND OUTLINES OF INDIA'S SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By K. P. Ghosh

THE end of India's national endeavours is a "Socialistic pattern of society," and the means chosen are planned economy and parliamentary democracy. This attempt at a revolutionary, yet peaceful social transformation, for which historical precedent shows only bloody struggle and economic compulsion, is becoming known, because of its novelty of approach, as the "Indian experiment." India's efforts on behalf of negotiated solutions for international problems have held the world's attention for a long time, to the exclusion of her internal activities. The time is now ripe for an examination of the motive force on all Indian manifestations, namely the compelling needs of her economy.

The aim of establishing an economic as well as political democracy is to be given bold shape in the Indian Second Five-Year Plan, the details of which are now being worked out. The principles and outlines of the Plan, embodied in the recently published Plan-frame, are being studied by the experts of many countries, both East and West. Almost without exception, they find the Plan-frame sound and realistic; many have even called it exciting. It enumerates the objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan as follows:

- (1) to attain a rapid growth of the national economy by increasing the scope and importance of the public sector, in this way advancing towards a Socialist pattern of society;
- (2) to develop the basic heavy industries to manufacture producer goods, in order to strengthen the foundations of economic independence;
- (3) to increase as much as possible the production of consumer goods by household or artisan industries; and to provide an adequate market for their products.

Subsidiary aims include the development of such factory production as will not compete with the artisan industries; increased productivity in agriculture and a speed-up in agrarian reforms; provision of better housing, more health services and greater opportunities for education, especially for the poor; liquidation of unemployment within ten years; and achievement of a more equitable distribution of income. As a result of these activities, the national income is expected to increase by five per cent each year, i.e. it will be doubled in about 14 years (the Soviet Union in its first two Five-Year Plans doubled the per capita income in 8½ years).

An annual increase of 5 per cent in national income is by no means a high one. The industrially advanced Western countries increase their national income by only 2 to 3 per cent per annum, while the Socialist countries raise theirs at rates ranging from 12 to 16 per cent. In India, a five per cent annual increase would without hardship allow the investment rate to be stepped up from the present 7 per cent to 11 per cent of the national income, and still raise per capita consumption by 12 to 13 per cent by 1960-61.

The Plan aims in the next five years to create new employment outside agriculture for 11 million people, in addition to providing further work or income to the peasants and the very large number of self-employed persons whose capacity is not at present fully utilised.

A steady expansion of the Indian economy is planned, in which both production and demand will be continuously matched and expanded. The basic strategy, if one may use a military term in this connection, is to increase the purchasing power of the people through large-scale national investment in the heavy industries in the public sector, and through expenditure on the social services; and to meet the increased demand for consumer goods by a planned supply to prevent the development of inflationary pressures. The establishment of new industries in iron and steel, coal, cement, heavy chemicals, heavy machinery, etc., will form the foundation for rapid industrialisation.

The demand for consumer goods will be met, until the necessary factories are established at a later period, by the artisan industries. The aim is to allocate sufficient funds for this purpose, and by legislation to regulate foreign imports and internal factory production so that the artisan products will, in fact, enjoy guaranteed markets. To achieve such objectives, all the resources of India, financial and physical, public and private, will clearly have to be brought within the scope of State planning.

Thus, taking into consideration the entire resources of India and her population—which is expected by the end of the Plan period to exceed 400 million—the planners have outlined the tentative targets to be achieved in the next five years. The Plan is to appear in its final form next spring. Already, however, it has been decided that there shall be no inviolable rigidity in the Indian approach—a lesson learned from the experience of the First Five-Year Plan, and entirely in keeping with the general attitude of the people. Annual plans for each year in conformity with the total resources available will be drawn up within the framework of the overall Five-Year Plan. In these circumstances, the chief merit of the Plan-frame lies in the establishment of a coherent structure of national aspirations and resources translated into practical targets.

The installed capacity of electricity is to be increased from the 1953-54 figure of 2.8 million kilowatts to 6 million kw in 1960-61, i.e. more than double; a greater number of large hydro-electric projects and small hydro-electric and diesel power-stations will be developed, as well as regional grid-systems combining both thermal and hydro-electric power-stations. In steel, the annual productive capacity is to be increased from 1.2 million tons to 6 million tons;

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home production being also planned for most of the machinery required to expand steel production from 1961 onward by at least another million tons a year. In *heavy chemicals*, the production of sulphuric acid, soda ash and caustic soda is to be increased by 1960-61 to roughly four times the 1953-54 figures.

Production is to be balanced with requirement in each industry. *Electricity*, for instance, the consumption of which is estimated by 1960-61 to reach 20,000 million kilowatt hours, will be allocated as follows:

*Allocation of electricity (million kwh)*

Iron and steel ... ..	2,500
Aluminium ... ..	1,300
Cement ... ..	1,100
Cotton textiles ... ..	1,500
Fertilisers ... ..	1,000
Other industries ... ..	5,600
Light, small power, traction and all other uses	7,000
<b>Total ... ..</b>	<b>20,000</b>

The planners stress that these carefully planned balances will enforce dove-tailing of production to avoid bottle-necks. But this does not mean that India proposes to practice autarky. The aim is rather the opposite: to expand foreign trade by increasing Indian exports of both raw materials and finished commodities while importing capital goods in large quantities.

The targets of the Second Plan, apart from the internal balance maintained among them, are, of course, closely related with the rate of investment, the rate of new employment and the rate of increase in the national income. The net investment proposed in the Plan-frame is Rs. 5,600 crores (1 crore—10 million), or nearly three times the total of the estimate for the First Five-Year Plan (1951-56), Rs. 2,069 crores—though this was subsequently revised upward. The allocation of investment funds in the Second Plan is as follows:

*Allocation of net investment (Rs. crores)*

Sector	Public	Private	Total	per-centage
Electricity ... ..	450	50	500	8.9
Industry ... ..	1,000	400	1,400	25.0
Transport & Communication	850	50	900	16.1
Agriculture & Irrigation ...	750	200	950	17.1
Construction ... ..	250	1,100	1,350	24.0
Stocks ... ..	100	400	500	8.9
<b>Total ... ..</b>	<b>3,400</b>	<b>2,200</b>	<b>5,600</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Private investment is deliberately controlled. Not only are heavy and essential basic industries to be nationally owned; private investment is also to be directed into pre-selected channels. In the above table, the Rs. 400 crores expected from private investment include the hundreds and thousands of existing and planned small artisan industries; the allocation for construction includes housing, schools, hospitals, and public buildings. Of the Rs. 1,000 crores for the private sector, a large part will be used in building homes. There is thus no intention to exclude private capital and enterprise from the national economy. On the contrary, there is some doubt whether private sources will be able to supply the Rs. 2,200 crores expected of them.

On the basis of an annually rising outlay, investment in the last year of the Second Plan should more than double that of the First Plan. The first three years will see a gradual increase in investment, followed by a much steeper rise in the last two. The following table—from the Working Paper prepared jointly by the Economic Division of the Ministry of Finance and the Economic Division of the Planning Commission, in consultation with the Central Statistical Organisation and the Indian Statistical Institute—indicates the general policy of increasing total investment by stages.

*Annual savings and investment (Rs. crores)*

	1955/56	1956/57	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61	Second Plan 1956/61
National Income ...	10,800	11,300	11,825	12,375	13,000	13,700	62,200
Net Investment	730	810	930	1,060	1,300	1,500	5,600
Domestic Savings ...	650	680	800	930	1,170	1,370	4,950

The rate of investment is to increase from 6.75 per cent of national income in 1955-56 to 11 per cent in 1960-61, and domestic savings from 6 to 10 per cent in the same period.

The problem of unemployment, which has hardly been denied by the First Plan, is to be brought under control. Much of it will be absorbed in the very act of reaching the targets of production. It is calculated that the volume of employment will rise by 11 millions, from 152 million in 1955-56 to 163 million in 1960-61, or 7 per cent spread over the five years. It is further estimated that with the rate of investment of the First Plan more than doubled, the rate of increase in national income will also be doubled by the end of the Second Plan, even though the proverbial teeming millions of India will by then also have increased, as the following table shows:

*Total Income and Population*

	1950/51 (Actual)	1955/56 (Estimates)	1960/61	Second Plan increase per cent
Total National Income (Rs. crores) ... ..	9,190	10,800	13,700	27
Population (millions)... ..	359.3	383.7	409.7	7
Per Capita Income (Rs.) ...	256	282	334	19

It is evident from this table of total increment over the 1950-51 figure that the planners have been rather cautious in their investment policy. Income required to meet the total government expenditure for the five years (Rs. 8,800 crores, including defence and administrative costs, both of which are outside the Plan) is apportioned in the Plan-frame as follows:

*Government Income (Rs. crores)*

On the revenue account ... ..	5,200
Loans from the public ... ..	1,000
Railways and miscellaneous funds ...	200
Foreign assistance ... ..	400
<b>Sub-total ... ..</b>	<b>6,800</b>
Additional taxes and loans and profits from State enterprises... ..	800-1,000
Deficit financing ... ..	1,000-1,200
<b>Total ... ..</b>	<b>8,800</b>

A point of special significance is the fact that most of the investment capital is to be found from current revenue. This was the case in the First Plan as well. Two hoary economic conceptions were hereby disposed of at one sweep. One concerns the supposed need to accumulate finance capital before starting on an industrialisation process, and the other, the presumed indispensability of investment from the more prosperous and advanced countries in the development of under-developed countries. Some years ago, Indians regarded foreign investment as a basic essential, and the Government of India, anxious to secure such investment, made numerous appeals for it, at the same time offering guarantees for its freedom and security. Response was poor, but there are no regrets on the Indian side. The country feels now that though foreign investment would still be welcome if made within the general framework of the Plan, it is of no



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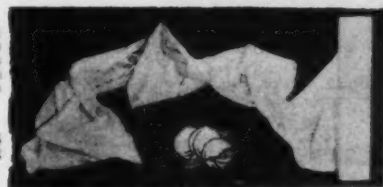
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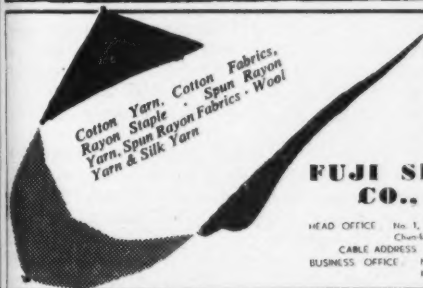
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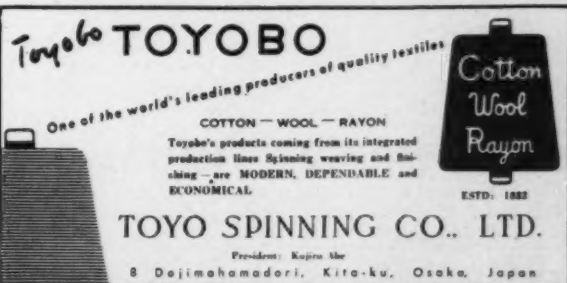
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great consequence. Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, under whose signature the Plan-frame is issued, is confident that the absence of "foreign aid" will neither hamper nor distort the Plan.

Not that India despises help from abroad, either in the form of capital goods or technical assistance, both of which are, on the contrary, eagerly sought. Indian scientists and experts are not inferior in quality to those of other countries, but there are just not enough of them to meet the country's requirements.

Economists of all shades of opinion, Indian and foreign, are agreed that deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores is fully justified. There is no apprehension of inflationary pressure, in view of the greatly expanding economy of the country.

It is also worth noting that the Rs. 400 crores of "foreign assistance" shown among the income should not be understood as making a case for "foreign aid" to meet the deficit in the finance planning. This sum merely represents the estimated shortfall in the balance of payments for the last two years of the Plan, when very large quantities of capital goods, exceeding the value of India's exports, are to be imported. Foreign assistance, it is hoped, will be available in the form of long-term credit or commercial loans; otherwise the gap is to be filled partly by withdrawals from India's sterling balance and partly by slightly increased taxation.

The Indian planning authorities have tried to avoid mere imitation of the practice of other countries. In the plans of the Socialist countries, capital investment has been at a very high rate, which obliged the population to put up with present hardships for future gains. In the capitalist countries, where planning on a national scale is not practised, public consumption has even to be cut back to "austerity" level to provide investment capital. The Indian plan is to increase simultaneously both investment and consumption, which necessarily means a slower rate for both than if either had been drastically curtailed in favour of the other. The standard of life in India is so very low that some immediate improvement is considered justified and essential, not least to prepare the ground for greater acceleration in the later plans.

One of the novel features of the Indian Plan is that it aims at a direct increase in property and income for the peasants and artisans. Parallel with the peasant's position in agriculture, in which (as in the Socialist countries) the tiller is given the land in order to increase agricultural production, the Indian artisans, too, will be given a stake in the country's industries. They will receive financial and technical help from the State, as well as getting a guaranteed market for their produce.

Economists are confident that much of the currently unused, or only partially used, small savings, which add up to a not inconsiderable total of untapped capital, will emerge in the process, to be ploughed back as active investment. A "property-owning democracy" is likely to result in a truer sense than has been the case in the Western democracies making this claim. Some of the small men will have their capital in land, others in their means of production, while some will own both forms of property. The State will aid them further in establishing agricultural and industrial cooperatives, thus helping them in efficient marketing and maintaining stable prices. Though landlordism is to disappear, big and small industrialists will be encouraged to expand in accordance with planning requirements. There is no desire yet to nationalise any industry on ideological grounds.

Until unemployment has been eliminated, the national effort will be directed to greatly increasing production in the artisan industries, which will in its turn allow large-scale investment in the heavy industries. Once conditions of full employment have been reached, the artisans will be provided with small machinery and electric power so that their production of consumer goods can be still further increased. To cope with the unemployment problem it has been decided that for the next five years, at any rate, as much as possible of the construction work, such as building, road-making, dams, etc., shall make use of manual labour instead of imported heavy machinery. In some cases the artisan industries are even to be favoured at the expense of installed machine-productive capacities, such as cotton textiles. Thus, a tax is proposed on factory-made cloth to subsidise hand-made cloth.

For all its novelties, the Second Plan has aroused less criticism than might have been expected; the Indian public appears on the

whole to be satisfied with the Plan-frame. Criticism, where it does exist, falls mainly into two categories: first, that which opposes planning in general, on orthodox free-enterprise grounds, and secondly the far more numerous school that supports the Plan-frame, but finds it too modest for India's needs and India's potentialities.

The Plan-frame is too cautious, say these critics, alike in setting the targets, and in estimating possible total investment, extent of employment, extension of taxation, and potential export markets; nor have the planners devised ways and means to tap the hoardings of the wealthy, or to bring into the banks and into active use the millions of small hidden savings of the peasants. None of these criticisms, however, is made in a spirit of opposition, nor are they so regarded by either the Government of India or the Planning Commission. When the complete Plan is debated in parliament and the country next spring, it will be possible to weigh the effect of the various criticisms of the Plan.

Professor Mahalanobis forestalls criticism of the central weakness by making it himself. This is the lack of a strong political organisation, a suitably trained administration and adequate publicity to carry the Plan through. While it is perfectly true that the idea of a planned economy for a Socialistic goal has caught hold, there is not yet an adequate organisation to put it into effect. Publicity to inform, educate and win participation from the public is also an imperative need. It may not be too much to say that just because such organisation and publicity hardly exist, there are those in the West who feel that it might be possible, if only plentiful aid were offered to India, to divert her from her chosen social and political path.

The public has been increasingly engrossed in the new political and economic developments. Foreign observers have been quick to

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remark that India is now turning inwards, away from international problems. This, of course, is only partly true. Apart from the fact that Indian security is far too dependent on international peace, the country is also well aware of the need for multi-form exchange with other countries. But the truth is that, whether it is called the "Indian experiment" or scientific planning, India is certainly pre-occupied to a greater extent than ever before with making progress and producing order in her home affairs.

In the entire country, led by the Prime Minister himself, the conviction is growing that India is engaged on an exciting adventure the outcome of which will, not only internally, but also in international relations, mark an historical turning-point.

## Anglo-Japanese Trade and Payments

The negotiations which began on June 23, between delegations of the United Kingdom and Japan regarding trade and payments between Japan and the Sterling Area, have been concluded.

The main trade quota arrangements for the year beginning October 1 are as follows:

**Japanese Imports from the United Kingdom.** The quota for the United Kingdom wool textiles will be increased from £2 million to £2.8 million and the quotas for whisky and confectionery will be maintained. United Kingdom exporters will also have full opportunities for competing for the best share they can secure of quotas covering a wide range of normal or potential United Kingdom exports to Japan. On past experience United Kingdom exporters should capture between £6½ million and £8 million of this trade. This estimate does not include trade under the Japanese automatic approval systems (where licences are issued on application) or imports of raw materials or other essentials for which quotas are not given.

**United Kingdom Imports from Japan.** The United Kingdom will maintain all existing Open General Licence facilities and all quotas under the 1954 arrangement for imports from Japan except for a small downward adjustment in the apparel quota. In addition the United Kingdom will increase the present quota for canned salmon from Japan from £2.2 million by about £2.5 million (to about £4.7 million).

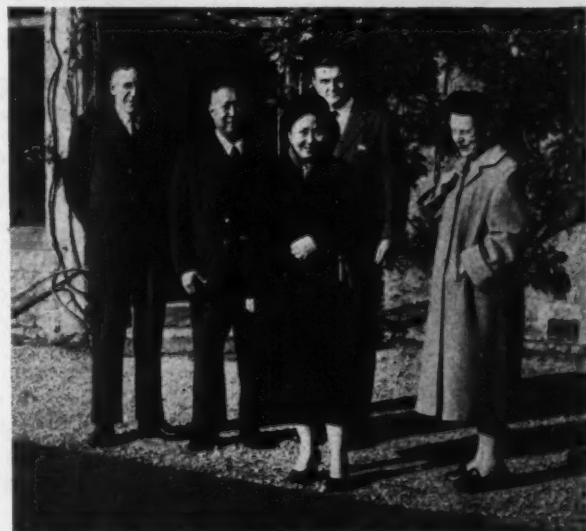
**Dependent Territories.** The dependent territories will be able to export to Japan all they have asked to be enabled to export, provided they are commercially competitive. They will continue to license imports from Japan up to the amount they require.

**Films.** The Japanese Government will permit the remittance of the past profits of the United Kingdom film companies now blocked in non-resident accounts.

At the time of negotiating the 1954 Agreement Japan's sterling position was serious. She spent in 1953 over £100 million more than she earned, and her sterling reserves were nearing exhaustion despite substantial drawings of sterling from the International Monetary Fund. It was therefore necessary, in order to maintain trade at a high level, to give Japan greater opportunities to earn sterling. This was done by Britain informing her Colonies that they were free to import from Japan up to their stated requirements and by granting additional

import quotas into the United Kingdom. It was thought that as a result of these measures Japan's trade with the sterling area would roughly balance at a level of rather more than £200 million each way.

For various reasons the negotiation of a new agreement was twice postponed and when negotiations opened in June the prospects



Prince and Princess Laksanakorn Kasemsant, of Thailand, during their recent tour of Fernhurst Research Station—the technical centre of Plant Protection Ltd., a subsidiary company of Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. The Prince, who is Deputy Director-General of the Thailand Department of Agriculture, showed great interest in the work done at Fernhurst on the evaluation of weedkillers, fungicides and insecticides for protection of crops of all kinds throughout the world. With the visitors are Dr. G. Watts Padwick, Head of Overseas Department, Central Agricultural Control, I.C.I., Mr. Edmund Jones and Miss C. Frost, of the Fernhurst staff.



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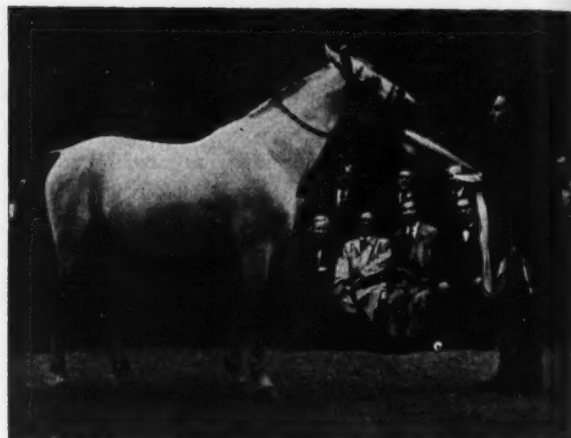
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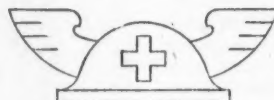
*Members of the Japanese parliamentary delegation, which has recently been to Hungary, visited the Babolna Street farm, where they inspected the horses*

were that unless Japan increased her expenditure in the sterling area or sterling area expenditure in Japan was curtailed, she would earn a substantial surplus in the next twelve months.

Britain's object in the negotiations therefore was to secure an agreement by the Japanese that, in accordance with the exchange of letters attached to the Sterling Payments Agreement, she would take measures to redress the imbalance by providing increased facilities for sterling area trade and by removing discrimination against sterling area imports. It is expected that the provisions of this agreement will result in a broad balance of trade between Japan and the sterling area at a rather higher level than in the first half of 1955.

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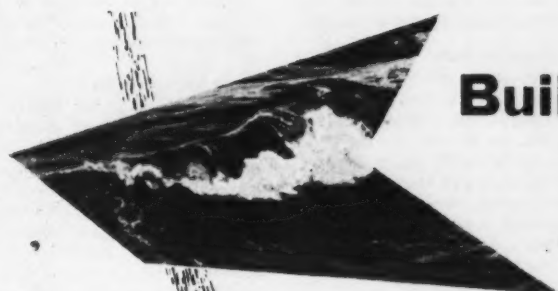


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### India's Industrial Output

India's industrial production during the second quarter of 1955 was considerably higher than during the corresponding period of last year.

The interim index of industrial production during the period April-June, 1955 was 158.5 as compared with 157.6 for the previous quarter and 143.7 in the corresponding period of 1954. Production has thus been maintained at a considerably higher level during the first half of this year as compared with the level reached in 1954 when the general index was 146.6 which was a record.

During the second quarter of this year industries which showed higher production included automobiles, bicycles, sewing machines, radio receivers, razor blades, machine screws and sugar.

Production of automobiles continued its upward trend and 5,646 automobiles were manufactured during the quarter as against 5,357 in the previous quarter.

Production of finished steel totalled 316,600 tons during the quarter, which was higher than the corresponding period of the previous year. Output of pig iron increased by nearly eight per cent.

Yarn production in cotton spinning and composite mills saw at a higher level at 394 million lbs. as against 385.1 million lbs. in the corresponding quarter of 1954.

Electrical industries showed considerable improvement over the corresponding quarter of 1954. Production of electric meters in-

creased from 44,800 h.p. to 60,300 h.p., radio receivers from 13,524 to 20,121 and electric fans from 63,800 to 76,700.

Production of sugar during the quarter was 293,000 tons as against 42,000 tons during the corresponding quarter a year ago.

### East German Paper for India

Indian buyers have placed substantial orders with the East German paper firm VEB Papierfabrik Greiz. Though only a medium-size mill it is one of the most versatile firms in the GDR paper industry. Apart from filing-card and Manila carton, it also produces coating, covering and book-lining papers as well as marbled qualities and covering carton. As a result of recent development work at this nationally-owned factory, it now also produces guaranteed fireproof asbestos and an electrically highly conductive paper.

### Blast Furnace for India

East Germany has offered to construct for India low-shaft blast furnaces that can work on lignite and low grade coal. While India has limited quantities of metallurgical coal, she has enormous resources of coal of comparatively poorer quality. A team of Indian technicians may soon visit East Germany to study the new process.

### Hungary Offers Goods

Hungarian First Deputy Minister for Metallurgy and Machine Industry, Prof. Ferenc Biro, has revealed in New Delhi that

his country would be willing to offer India long-term credit in respect of equipment and machinery that she could offer for developing India's resources. He also indicated that Hungary would even go to the extent of buying Indian products to the equivalent of Hungarian exports to India.

### Czech Offer to India

Czechoslovakia has offered to set up a one million-ton steel plant in India and recover the estimated cost of about £75 millions in 25 annual instalments with 2 1/2 per cent. interest. The Czech Foreign Trade Minister, Mr. Richard Dvorak, has conveyed this offer to the Indian Minister for Iron and Steel, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari. Like the Russians, the Czechs have also offered a package deal whereby they would construct the plant, train technicians and see through all other preliminaries.

India's Second Five-Year Plan envisages three steel plants, each with a million-ton capacity. The one at Rourkela is being built by the Germans, while the Bhilai plant is being built with German assistance. In respect of the third at Durgapur, New Delhi has accepted in principle British participation, and details are in course of negotiation. Indications are that Indian Government is probably contemplating a package deal with the British Consortium if the prices of the steel plant offered by it are competitive. In such case, global tenders for any substantial part of the Durgapur equipment may not be



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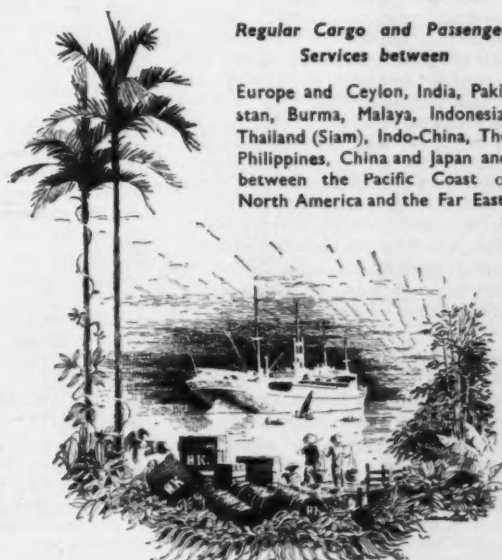


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invited, and the whole plant will be supplied by Britain. Another feature of the British plan for the third steel plant is that the responsibility for the installation, co-ordination and planning of the entire works will be fastened to the British Consortium. In respect of the two other plants such organisational tasks will mainly be shouldered by the Indian Government.

#### Indonesian-Polish Trade

In September a new Trade and Payments Agreement was signed between Indonesia and the Polish People's Republic. Poland will import from Indonesia rubber, tin, copra, tea, coffee, pepper, and similar products, and will export to Indonesia textiles, glass and glassware, paper, dyes, chemicals, cement, and also rolled products and engineering products. The last two items are of special interest as Poland used not to make and export these while Indonesia used to import such commodities from Holland and other Western countries.

#### Pakistan Buys in Italy

During the first part of this year the Dalmine Company, Milan (steel tubes) secured a very large order from Pakistan. It was for about a hundred miles of steel tubing, weighing roughly 13,000 long tons, and intended for the metanum pipelines tying Sui to Multan.

This pipeline will bring the gas extracted from the gas wells in Sind to the 300,000 Kw power station to be built in Multan, which will supply the electric steel works under construction in that city. The pipeline will cross the Sind desert, and the Indus river.

The Dalmine Company was able to put at the service of Pakistan's industry the experience they had gained in setting up the great metanum tube network in northern Italy.

#### North Viet Nam—France Trade Pact

A trade and payments agreement between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and France was signed in Hanoi last month. It is to be valid for one year, and provides for commercial exchange to the value of 1,000 million francs for each country.

Viet Nam will sell anthracite, raw silk, agricultural and forestry products, handicrafts and books and journals, while France in return will deliver machinery, textiles, vehicle pharmaceuticals, chemicals, building materials, iron ware and books and journals. The mutual concession to allow the imports of books and journals appears to be a pointer for future cultural relations between the two countries.

#### Japanese-Ceylon Industrial Venture

The Ceylon Government has made the first move in converting its existing industrial undertakings into public companies. This month it will hand over to the Ceylon Glass Company Limited (a Japanese-Ceylon combine) the Rs. 1,700,000 Glass Factory at Nattandiya.

This is in keeping with the Government's policy of industrialisation through collaboration between the public and private sector,

announced last July by the Minister of Finance, who said that in future the Government would not participate directly in industrial undertakings as in the past. He promised to hand over all state-owned factories to public corporations or companies and assist such bodies to continue the work of those factories.

The principal object of the new company is the manufacture, export and import of glass and articles made of glass and other allied products. At present Ceylon has to import almost all her requirements of glass products, but within a few years the company hopes to reduce considerably this dependence on foreign countries.

The company has made arrangements to purchase from the Government all the machinery and equipment in the factory, which originally cost Rs. 1,100,000, by issuing the Government 20,000 shares valued at Rs. 200,000. It will also lease out the factory site for 30 years. Ten thousand shares in the company will be owned by Daiichi Bussan Kaisha Ltd., of Tokyo, in whose hands will rest its technical management. The Japanese firm has secured the services of Nippon Glass Company Limited, one of the world's noted manufacturers of glassware, to work the factory and supply the necessary engineers.

The participation of these two firms has been made possible by the relaxation of existing regulations relating to foreign capital, which is now entitled to the same tax and other concessions enjoyed by local capital entering new industry.

The Government and Daiichi Bussan Kaisha Ltd., will have one representative each on the Board of Directors of the company.

The glass company starts on a very good footing, with advantages that any private company would envy. It will have an advantage over foreign competitors in freight, insurance and duty; it will be exempt from income tax for the first five years, and it will have a monopoly of all Government orders for glassware.

#### China Can Pay Ceylon in British Goods

A British firm has suggested to its agents here that Ceylon can buy British goods on China's account with the United Kingdom and thereby solve the problem of China's adverse balances of payments with Ceylon. The agents have passed on this information about the United Kingdom's adverse trade balances with China to the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala.

From January to August this year the United Kingdom imported goods worth £8,050,087 from China and exported goods worth £5,299,150 to China, leaving a deficit of £2,750,937.

China's adverse balance with Ceylon for the period up to December this year will be about £1,700,000. The final figure will be a little higher in view of the increased prices for rubber supplied to China since June this year.

The Colombo representatives of the British

firm have pointed out that as the United Kingdom's debt to Ceylon is much higher than China's debt to Ceylon, a three-way trade agreement could be arranged between the countries. Under such a tri-lateral pact Ceylon could buy British goods on the strength of her credit with China. It is felt that this would be preferable to Ceylon having to accept Chinese commodities if China cannot pay the deficit in cash.

#### Air Pact with Nepal

India and Nepal will soon enter into a civil aviation pact, following high level talks held in Katmandu, Nepal's capital, early in November. According to the arrangement the Indian Airlines Corporation now operating the domestic services in Nepal will make over these services to a State-owned airline that will be formed in Nepal, along with three Dakotas and its crew, either on charter or on outright sale. The service between Patna and Katmandu will, however, be operated by the Indian Airlines.

#### Burma, China Sign Air Pact

Burma and China have signed a civil aviation pact allowing both the countries air traffic rights in the other country. The agreement limits the number of scheduled flights by each country's airlines to two a week in each direction on the Rangoon-Mandalay-Kunming-Canton route. Covering the carriage of passengers, cargo and mail, the agreement takes effect from a date to be notified by the two Governments.

#### Pakistan Gas Power

In Multan, West Pakistan, work is beginning shortly on the construction of a Sui gas power station and an iron and Steel Pilot Factory. Land for the projects has been selected and surveyed, and order for machinery placed. The survey for the laying of a 193-mile pipeline for the extension of Sui gas to Multan has been completed.

#### UK-Pakistan Trade

During the past 8 months of this year, Pakistan exported to Britain goods valued at £21,608,000. These include tea, coffee, foodstuffs, beverages, tobacco, hides and skins, wool, cotton, textile fabrics and waste. Tea and coffee were the biggest export items worth about £2,389,000.

#### Japan-Italy Trade

Trade negotiations between Japan and Italy, which had been held in Rome, were successfully brought to a conclusion on Oct. 18, when Ken Harada, Japanese Ambassador to Italy, and Attilio Cattani, Economic Affairs Director of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs signed the documents formalizing a new agreement on behalf of their respective Governments.

The present Trade and Payments Arrangements between the two countries, which are based on the dollar open-account formula, will be terminated on Jan. 14, 1956, and the trade between the two nations will thereafter be conducted on a cash basis, in accordance with the new agreement.

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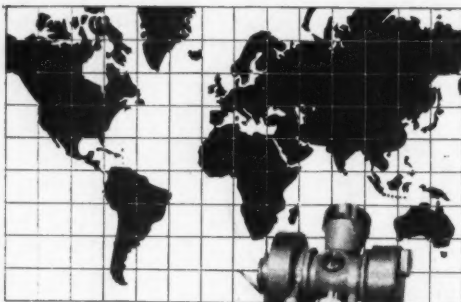
The search for oil is still an adventure, still an advance into the unknown. The oilmen are like the migrating cranes in Homer, settling ever onwards.



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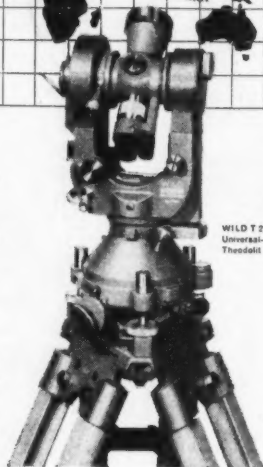
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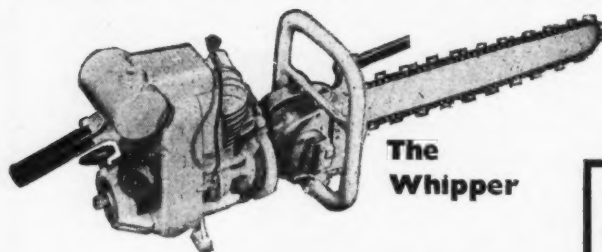
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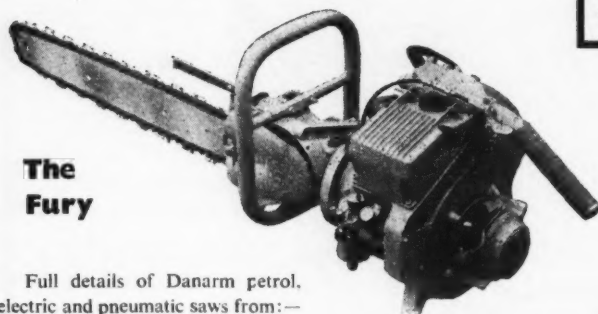
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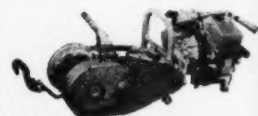
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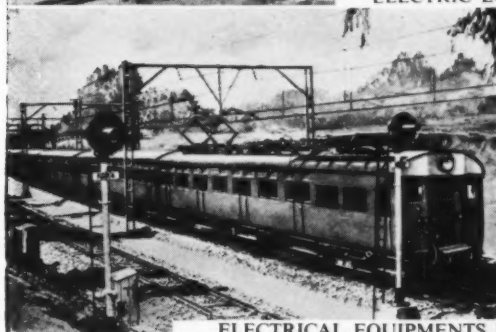
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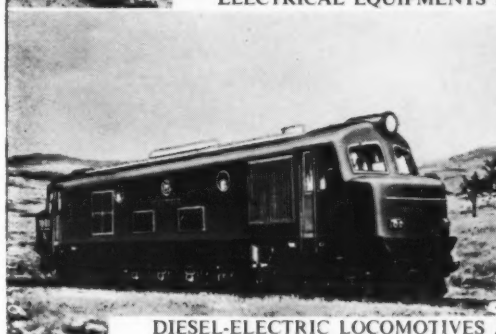
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